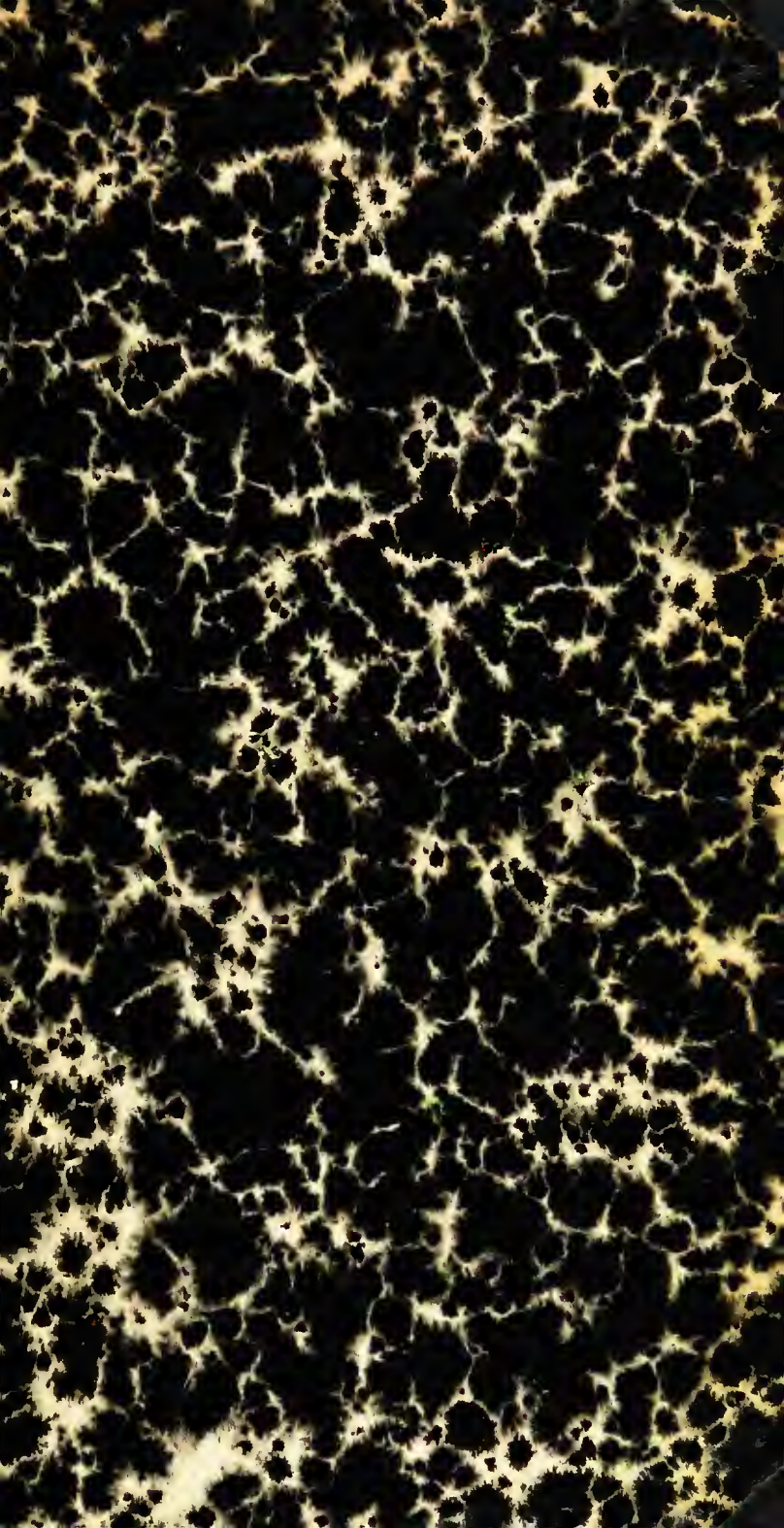

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RIME

AS A CRITERION OF THE PRONUNCIATION

OF

SPENSER, POPE, BYRON, AND SWINBURNE

A CONTRIBUTION TO THE HISTORY OF THE PRESENT ENGLISH STRESSED VOWELS

BY

ARVID GABRIELSON

UPPSALA 1909
ALMQVIST & WIKSELLS BOKTRYCKERI-A.-B.

Preface.

This work deals only with the present English stressed vowels. The present English weak-stressed vowels — the history of which presents many difficulties, especially as regards the pronunciation (including the degree of stress) of such vowels when they are used as bearers of rimes — I have had to leave out of consideration for the present, as well as the consonants, of whose pronunciation the rimes are, however, far less illustrative than in the case of the vowels. As a rule I have also disregarded — as being of no interest for the pronunciation of the stressed vowels concerned — the rimes between present English stressed vowels and present English weak-stressed vowels; only mentioning by the way such rimes of this kind in Spenser and Pope as I have considered to be of interest.

I here take the opportunity of expressing my gratitude to Professor Erdmann, my esteemed teacher, for the suggestion of the subject of this treatise and also for his sympathetic kindness throughout the course of my English studies at this University. — My thanks are also due to Mr. E. Classen, M. A., for the revision of the English of the MS and for assistance in the proof-reading.

Upsala, February 1909.

ARVID GABRIELSON.

Table of Contents.

Preface.
Table of Contents.
Phonetic Notation.
Abbreviations and Signs.
Chief Phonetic Authorities.
Works Consulted.

Introduction. Page

General remarks. Textual emendations. Original spelling. Influence on riming of tradition and orthography. Dialect influence. §§ 1—27 1

Chapter I. Rime-Lists.

A. Rimes to obsolete words (in Spenser). — §§ 28—49 . . . 18

B. Rimes correct in present English.

Present E. ai(ə) : ai(ə), oi : oi, ij : ij, iə : iə, i : i, e : e, ei : ei, eə : eə, æ : æ, aa : aa, ɔɔ : ɔɔ, ou : ou, ɔ : ɔ, uw : uw, uə : uə, u : u, au(ə) : au(ə), ɐ : ɐ, əə : əə. — §§ 50—85 25

C. Rimes incorrect in present English.

I. Rimes containing two different rime-vowels (in present E. pronunciation).

Present E. ai(ə) and oi : other vowels. — §§ 86—92 49
Present E. iə : ij(ə). — § 93 53
Present E. i : ij, iə. — §§ 94, 95 54
Present E. e : i, ij, iə. — §§ 96—104 56
Present E. eə : ei(ə); ei, eə : e, i, ij, iə. — §§ 105—111 . . 63
Present E. æ : ei, eə, e, ij. — §§ 112—115 68
Present E. aa : æ, eə, ei, e, iə. — §§ 116—121 71
Present E. ɔɔ : aa, æ, eə, ei, e, iə. — §§ 122—127 75
Present E. ou : ɔɔ. — § 128 78
Present E. ɔ : ou, ɔɔ, aa, æ, ei, e. — §§ 129—135 79
Present E. uw, uə : ɔ, ou, ɔɔ, ouə. — §§ 136—138 83
Present E. u : uw, ɔ, ou. — §§ 139—141 86
Present E. au(ə) : u, uə, uw, ɔ, ou, ɔɔ, ouə. — §§ 142—150 88
Present E. ɐ : au, u, (j)uw, ɔ, ou, ɔɔ, aa, æ, e, i. — §§ 151—160 91
Present E. əə : ɐ, uə, ou, ɔɔ, aa, eə, e, iə. — §§ 161—174 . 98

Page

II. Rimes containing more than two different rime-vowels (in present E. pronunciation).

Present E. ai(ə) : ij & i, iə & eə. — §§ 175, 176 105
Present E. e : ij & iə. — § 177 106
Present E. ei, eə : e & i, e & ij. — §§ 178, 179 106
Present E. æ : ei & ij, e & ij. — §§ 180, 181 106
Present E. aa : æ & ei. — § 182 106
Present E. ɔɔ : aa & eə, aa & ei. — §§ 183, 184 107
Present E. ɔ : ou & ɔɔ, ɔɔ & aa, ɔɔ & æ, ɔɔ & ei, aa & æ, æ & ei. — §§ 185—191 107
Present E. uw : ɔ & ou, ou & ɔɔ. — §§ 192, 193 108
Present E. u : uw & ɔ, ɔ & ou. — §§ 194, 195 109
Present E. au(ə) : u & ou, uə & ɔɔ(ə), uw & ou, ɔ & ou. — §§ 196—199 109
Present E. ɐ : au & u, au & ɔ, au & ou, u & (j)uw, u & ɔ, uw & ɔ (& ou), uw & ɔɔ, ɔ & ou, ɔ & ɔɔ, ɔ & aa, ɔ & æ, ɔɔ & æ, æ & e. — §§ 200—211 110
Present E. əə : ɔ & ɔɔ, ɔɔ & aa, ɔɔ & eə, eə & iə. — §§ 212—215 112

Chapter II. Relations of the Rimes to the Pronunciation of the Rime-Vowels.

Present E. ai. — §§ 216—219 114
Present E. oi. — §§ 220—223 115
Present E. ij. — §§ 224—227 118
Present E. iə. *a.* Development of ME ę̄ & ē before ʳ (final). *b.* Rimes to με ēr (= present E. iə). — §§ 228—241 120
Present E. i and e. *a.* με ĕ < ME ę̄. *b.* Quality of με ĭ and με ĕ. *c.* Special cases (*any, many, said, says, saith; wind* s., *been, again*). — §§ 242—251 130
Present E. ei, eə. *a.* με ā(r) & με ai(r). *b. break, steak, great; bear* etc. — §§ 252—263 140
Present E. æ. *a.* Quality of με ă. *b.* Special cases (*am, had, has, hath, hast*). — §§ 264—268 146
Present E. aa and ɔɔ. *a.* Quality of με au. *b.* ME ăl(c) > present E. aa.. *c.* ME -ought, -aught. *d.* με wăr(c). *e.* ME au < OF ă. *f.* με ăr(c), ăth, etc. *g.* Present E. ɔɔ < ME ū & ŏ | r(c) (= Walker o¹ & o² | r(c)). *h.* με ŏth etc. *i. broad, abroad, groat.* — §§ 269—302 149
Present E. ou. — §§ 303—307 171
Present E. ɔ. *a.* με wă; and *was*. *b.* με ŏ. — §§ 308—317 174
Present E. uw, uə. — §§ 318—323 181
Present E. u. *a. could, should, would. b.* ME ǭ | k. *c.* ME ǭ | d & t. *d.* ME ŭ. — §§ 324—327 185
Present E. au(ə). — §§ 328—331 188
Present E. ɐ. *a.* Special groups (present E. ɐ < ME ǭ; ǭ; ŭ-; ŏ & ŭ | ng). *b.* Quality of με ŭ. — §§ 332—343 191
Present E. əə. *a.* ME er(c) of Rom. origin. *b.* με ĭr, με ĕr, με ŭr. — §§ 344—358 199

Phonetic Notation.

For the present E. vowels I have availed myself of the symbols used in Sweet's »Elementarbuch des gesprochenen English», except that the vowels »Mid back narrow», »Low mixed narrow», »Low back narrow round», and »Low back wide round» are given as ɐ, əə, ɔɔ, ɔ, respectively, instead of Sweet's a, ə, ɔ, o. — For the OE and ME vowels I have used the ordinary symbols: i, e, a, o, u, ü (<French), y (< OE), oi, ui, eu, au, ou. ē, ĕ, etc. denote long and short, ę, ẹ, etc., open and close vowels respectively; ã, õ ,etc. represent the (O)F nasalized vowels. — In the case of the early Mod. E. vowels in special words or groups of words it has often been of importance to indicate which ME vowels they represent, not historically (i. e. etymologically), but acoustically. This has been done by distinguishing between the two symbols ME and μɛ. Thus, for instance, ME ă denotes the vowel actually used in Middle English, independently of later development; whilst μɛ ă denotes the sound representing, in the language of any given epoch or of any given individual, the regular development of the ME vowel in question. *break, great,* for instance, have ME ę̄, and up to the end of the 17th c. also μɛ ę̄ (i. e. the same vowel as the bulk of the words with ME ę̄); but in present E. they have μɛ ā (i. e. the same vowel as the bulk of the words with ME ā). I have adopted this notation from Bauermeister [p. 17: »Zur Verhütung von Missverständnissen, namentlich auch bei irregulärem Lautwandel vom Mittelenglischen zu Spenser, wird statt »ME» mehrfach »μɛ» verwandt. *room* hat im ME (û), doch bei Spenser μɛ (ộ)»]. — When there was a question of directly transcribing (as a rule only approximately) the quality of early Mod. E. vowels, the symbols used haven been given in brackets.

For the sake of convenience I have sometimes used the notation μɛ ew, which denotes the vowel in all words with present E. (j)uw, (j)uə < ME ęu, ẹu, ūu. — μɛ ăl(c) represents the development of ME ă + l(c) in words as *all, bald, walk*, etc. (= present E. ɔɔ).

i-, o-, etc. denote vowels in open syllables. — ir(c), or(c), etc. denote vowels followed by *r* final or by *r* + another consonant; ir^{c}, or^{c}, etc. only the latter alternative.

Abbrevations and Signs.

For abbreviations of works consulted, see »Works Consulted» below. — Of other abbreviations used the following may be mentioned:

AF = Anglo French.
Bch = Buchanan.
Bll = Bullokar.
c. = century, centuries.
cons., cs = consonant (c̆s, c̄s = short and long, respectively).
E. = English.
EO = The Expert Orthographist (1704).
F. = French.
Lat. = Latin.
ME = Middle English (for ȝ, see »Phonetic Notation»).
Mod. E. = Modern English (i. e. 16th c. down, including early Mod. E. and present E.).
n. pr. = proper name.
OE = Old English.
OF = Old French.
Sc. = Scotch (Sc. E. = Scotch English).
St. E. = Standard English.
Teut. = Teutonic.
vl = vowel (v̆l, v̄l = short and long, respectively. A rime v̆l : v̄l means a rime between a short and a long vowel of the same quality).
W. = Walker.

| (vertical stroke) means »placed before», »followed by» (e. g. a | r). —) (denotes a difference, a contrast; = »as opposed to», »as against». — The sign ~ between two vowel-symbols denotes that both sounds are to be found. — The signs > and < will be understood without explanation.

Chief Phonetic Authorities.

Palsgrave 1530.
Salesbury 1547 (1567).
Cheke 1555.
Smith 1568.
Hart 1569, 1570.
Levins 1570.
Bullokar 1580. [Bll]
Cotgrave 1611.
Gill 1621 (1619).
Mason 1622 (1633).
Butler 1633.
Wallis 1653.
Price 1668.
Cooper 1685.
Miège 1688.
Jones 1701.
The Expert Orthographist 1704. [EO]
Ludwig 1705 (1717, 1726).
Lediard 1725.
Buchanan 1766. [Bch]
Kenrick 1773.
Sheridan 1780.
Walker 1791. [W.]

Works Consulted.

[Quoted in the present work as given below, in brackets.]

This list is chiefly intended to be an index to the abbreviations of the works I have quoted; and consequently it does not include papers published in periodicals, when such papers are quoted by the names of the authors as well as by the names of the periodicals.

SPENSER. The Globe Edition. The Works of Edmund Spenser. Edited . . . by R. Morris . . London 1904. [FQ = The Faerie Queene.]

POPE. The Globe Edition. The Poetical Works of Alexander Pope. Edited . . . by Adolphus William Ward . . London 1904.

BYRON. Oxford Edition. The Poetical Works of Lord Byron. London 1896. [CH = Childe Harold's Pilgrimage; Bp = Beppo; DJ = Don Juan.]

SWINBURNE (Chatto & Windus, London).

Atalanta in Calydon	(Publ. 1865).	A new ed.	1899	[AC].
Poems and Ballads	(» 1866).	A new ed.	1900	[PB I].
Songs before Sunrise	(» 1871).	A new ed.	1899	[SBS].
Songs of two Nations	(» 1875).	Second ed.	1893	[SN].
Erectheus	(» 1876).	A new ed.	1894	[E].
Poems and Ballads II	(» 1878).	A new ed.	1901	[PB II].
Songs of the Springtides	(» 1880).	Third ed.	1891	[SSp].
Studies in Song	(» 1880).	Second ed.	1896	[SS].
Tristram of Lyonesse	(» 1882).	Sixth ed.	1899	[TL].
A Century of Roundels	(» 1883).	Third ed.	1892	[CR].
A Midsummer Holiday	(» 1884).	Third ed.	1889	[MH].
Locrine	(» 1887).	Second ed.	1896	[L].
Poems and Ballads III	(» 1889).	Sixth ed.	1899	[PBIII].

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——. Elocutionary Manual. Third edition. London 1859. [Bell El. Man.]

——, »Elocutionary Manual». The Principles of Elocution. Seventh edition. Washington 1899. [Bell Pr. of El.]

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Introduction.

General remarks.

The present work is based upon an examination of all SPEN- 1
SER'S rimes (i. e. all the rimes in the poems contained in the Globe Edition, with the exception of »The Doleful Lay of Clorinda», »The Mourning Muse of Thestylis», »A Pastoral Aeglogue», »An Elegie» etc., and two epitaphs on the Right Hon. Sir Philip Sidney — Globe Ed. pp. 562-572 — which are considered not to proceed from Spenser's hand); all POPE'S rimes (Globe Ed.) except those in Pope's imitation of Chaucer, p. 177, which is evidently meant to imitate Chaucer's language as well as his style (the rimes in Pope's imitations of other English poets do not differ from the rimes in his other works); all BYRON'S rimes (Oxford Ed.); and the rimes in the works of SWINBURNE given above in »Works Consulted» (i. e. practically all Swinburne's rimed verse, with the exception of The Heptalogia (1880) — which has been intentionally omitted as it is meant to parody the language and versification of other poets — and occasional poems written in dialect language (the most extensive example occurs PB III: 134-179). Consequently I have given also the rimes (of interest) occurring in a series of translations of Villon (PB II), in which Swinburne, probably in order to represent the archaic language of the original, uses a great number of archaic and anomalous rimes; these cases have, however, always been indicated.

SPENSER'S rimes in FQ have been dealt with by Bauermeister, 2
to whose intelligent and conscientious work I have to acknowledge my great obligation. In numerous cases — of course always expressly pointed out — I have even ventured to avail myself of his results, without checking them, as to Spenser's rime-usage. — Mead's treatise on POPE'S rimes deals only with those rimes which do not conform to present E. pronunciation and of

their correctness or incorrectness in Pope's time; I have used this work mainly to check my own excerpts from Pope's rimes. It does not seem necessary here to give the omissions — amounting to about 50 cases — or the mistakes I have found in Mead's rime-lists, especially as they are of little importance to the conclusions he draws from his material. — As to BYRON and SWINBURNE, there does not, as far as I know, exist any comprehensive account of their rimes; Bartling gives only some groups of interesting rimes taken from Byron and other 19th c. poets, and Weiser, Anglia 1,273 f., deals with the rimes of Byron's juvenile poems only, and exclusively from the point of view of Pope's influence.

3 The value of rime as a criterion of pronunciation in the Mod. E. period was, as is well-known, totally denied by Ellis, who maintains, in the much quoted passage p. 865, that »beginning at least with the XVIth century we cannot trust rhymes to give us information on pronunciation». The opposite position is defended e. g. by Brugger (16th c. rimes), and especially by Dam & Stoffel, at least to judge from the assertion made in Chapters p. 37: . . . »that there is not a single reason for assuming that English poets posterior to Chaucer did not use rhymes as pure as those employed by him»; yet, since »pure» rimes here implies also traditional rimes, which are considered to belong to the »poetical dialect» (cf. § 12), this assertion does not apply to the individual pronunciation of the poets. — An intermediate position is held e. g. by Bauermeister (p. 7 ff.), and by Luick, cf. E. St. 26, 271 f.: »Selten sind wir im stande, durch interne betrachtung der reimverhältnisse das richtige zu treffen . . . Die neuenglischen reime können also erst dann richtig gedeutet werden, wenn wir schon auf anderem weg die hauptpunkte der lautentwicklung festgelegt haben, sie sind nur eine secundäre erkenntnissquelle . . , Als secundäre quelle können aber gewiss die reime vielfach mit nutzen verwendet werden. Mit recht hebt B.[1] in der einleitung . . . hervor dass der hauptmangel der grammatiker nicht so sehr ungenauigkeit, als vielmehr unvollständigkeit ist: sie lehren in der regel nur e i n e aussprache . . . Reime können daher vielfach als controlle wie als ergänzung unserer grammatiker sehr nützlich sein. Aber sie müssen stets systematisch und mit vorsichtiger kritik behandelt werden, ferner immer in verbindung mit den anderen kriterien, die wir zur bestimmung der lautgebung be-

[1] = Bauermeister.

sitzen, namentlich mit der schreibung, soweit sie nicht schon erstarrt ist.»

As to the purpose of the present work and the method of 4&5
investigation employed — the latter is based upon an estimate of the rimes as a criterion of pronunciation agreeing in the main with that of Luick (cf. § 3) — the following remarks may be of use to the reader. — I have examined, and brought together here (Chapter I) what is of interest in, the rimes of a number of poets of different epochs of the Mod. E. period, because only in this way can a tolerably certain estimate be made of the influence of tradition in each special group of rimes. My purpose has been to determine the relations between the rimes to each one of the present E. stressed vowels or its earlier representative(s) and the rimers' individual pronunciation of the respective vowels. — Rimes to special words with unsettled pronunciation (as evidenced by orthoepists or in other ways) have as a rule, for the sake of convenience, been dealt with in the rime-lists (Chapter I). Such rimes have been regarded as — probably or possibly, according to the special circumstances of each case — based upon the variants best suiting the rimes; though in many cases it has been expressly pointed out that the rimes can very well be explained otherwise. — The comprehensive discussion (Chapter II) of the rimes to each special vowel has been made on the results as to the history of the stressed vowels obtained in other ways. Yet it has always been pointed out when, in any case, the rimes by themselves are conclusive evidence of the pronunciation of a vowel.

The rime-lists (Chapter I) which I have deemed it necessary 6
to give as a reference, contain 1) all rimes — within the limits given above (Preface, and § 1) — which are incorrect according to present E. pronunciation (rimes as Byron's *epopée* : *ennui* 685 a, *»l'Eprouveuse»* : *Muse* 764 a, *»verflucter»* : *conductor* 772 a, *praise* : *»bouts rimés»* 832 b, have as a rule been disregarded); and 2) rimes which are correct in present E. but contain different ME vowels which have coalesced only in the course of the Mod. E. period. Rimes correct in ME as well as in present E. have been disregarded as irrelevant. As to the rimes 2), I have generally disregarded single cases like e. g. *key, quay* : present E. ij, when they occur only in Byron or Swinburne, but not in Spenser or Pope where they would have been of interest. Further, of Byron's and Swinburne's rimes 2) I have as a rule collected only those occurring in CH and SBS respectively, and

in many cases, after ascertaining that these rimes are just what might be expected, I have satisfied myself with mentioning that they offer nothing of interest (cf. e. g. §§ 59, 60, 78, 79). This inconsistency in the treatment of the two groups 1) & 2) is due altogether to practical reasons: the rime-words used and the number of the rimes can be of interest, as a measure of the traditional power of each special group, in the case of group 1), even in cases where there is no doubt whatever as to the correctness of the rimes; while on the other hand the rimes of group 2) are generally of no interest from this point of view.

7 It has been found convenient to arrange the rimes cited according to the present E. pronuciation; hence the divisions containing the »Rimes incorrect in present E.» (Chapter I: C I & II) include also such rimes as are incorrect both in present E. and according to ME pronunciation. For the detailed arrangement of the rimes cf. the Table of Contents. It should be noticed that the rimes in Chapter I: C I & II are given in a definite order: 1) all rimes present E. ai(ə) : other present E. vowels, and present E. oi : other present E. vowels; 2) rimes present E. ij : iə; 3) rimes present E. i : ij & iə; 4) rimes present E. e : i, : ij & iə; 5) rimes present E. (ei : eə and) ei & eə : e, : i, : ij & iə; 6) rimes present E. æ : ei & eə, : e, (: i no cases,) : ij (& iə no cases); etc. etc. Thus e. g. rimes present E. æ : other present E. vowels are to be looked for in § 112 ff., § 180 ff.; rimes present E. əə : other present E. vowels only in § 161 ff., § 212 ff. — This arrangement, adopted in order to avoid the necessity of giving each rime more than once in the rime-lists, evidently involves some difficulty in getting a comprehensive view of the rimes to each vowel; but this difficulty is lessened by the short summary given at the head of the discussion of the rimes to each vowel; cf. § 216 etc. These summaries and the references to irrelevant or uncertain cases given at the head of them, are meant to make up for the absence of a rime-index.

8 The rimes have been cited by the pages of the editions used (cf. § 1). In the case of Spenser and Byron also the column has been given (a & b); in the case of Swinburne the abbreviated title of each volume has been prefixed to the number of the page.

Textual emendations.

9 In the case of POPE, BYRON, and SWINBURNE, the texts given by the editions used may confidently be relied upon; but

this is not so as regards SPENSER. In numerous cases the old editions differ from each other, and in such cases I have as a rule tacitly accepted the readings adopted by the Editor of the Globe Edition. Emendations made by the Editor against all the old editions have been pointed out, in cases where the correctness of rime-vowels is concerned. Finally there are some cases where the Editor has kept the common readings of the old editions, though the words made to rime together differ very considerably from each other and must have done so also in Spenser's time. In some of these cases at least the original reading has no doubt been corrupted by the printer (cf. for the »high-handed ways» of the 16th c. printers, Dam & Stoffel, Chapters p. 1 ff.). Such cases are to be found e. g. p. 203 b (Stanza 32): *Had. . . assoyld*, for *Did . . . assoyl* (= Church, cf. Globe Ed. p. 691 a); p. 225 b (Stanza 17) . . . *shee did tosse*, for . . . *shee tost* (= Church, cf. Globe Ed. p. 692 a); p. 314 b (Stanza 37) . . *neare*, for *new* (= Church, cf. Globe Ed. p. 694 b; later Dam & Stoffel, Shakespeare p. 304 f.); p. 354 a (Stanza 61) . . . *meed*, for . . . *hyre* (= Church, cf. Globe Ed. p. 695 a; Dam & Stoffel l. c.).

Cases of the same kind are probably also the following: p. 94 b 10 (Stanza 28) . . . *play*, for *sport* v.; 266 a (Stanza 32) . . . *oft . . . and oft*, for *eft . . . and eft* (= again and again, cf. NED. OE eft) (rimed : *bereft, left, theft*); p. 532 a (Muipotmos l. 38) . . . *coast*, for *wast(e)* s. (rimed : *fast* : *wast* v.); 539 b (Visions of Bellay VIII) . . . *shadowes*, for *fellowes* (rimed : *billowes*); p. 586 a (Epigrams l. 2) . . . *baby*, for *sonny* (rimed : *honny*); p. 589 a (Epithalamion l. 192) . . . *womanhood*, for *womanhead* (rimed : *red* pret. : *hed* s.); possibly also p. 515 a (Mother Hubberds Tale l. 242). *That like a handsome swaine it him became*, for *That it became him like a handsome swaine* (rimed : *straine*); p. 529 a (The Ruines of Rome, Stanza 17) . . . *consum'd to pouder*, for *consum'd by thunder* (rimed : *asunder*), or, perhaps, for . . . *consum'd to cinder*, as Spenser may may have had in view an [ĭ]-form of *asunder*, cf. the ME forms *sindry, in sinder* (Stratmann-Bradley), and the present dial. E. *sinder* v., *sinders* adv. (EDD) [OE (a)syndrian ~ (ge)sundrian]; p. 296 a (Stanza 7) . . . *theirs*, for *th'air(e)s*, as well as 603 a (An Hymne of Heavenly Beautie l. 70), or perhaps, in both cases, for *th'eirs* (= the airs), as *ai* and *ei* were very often mixed in the 16th c. orthography. On the strength of these cases the printer might possibly be held responsible for many other, lesser anomalies in Spenser's rimes; the difficulty is however to know

where to draw the line. At any rate, this mode of explanation should be used very cautiously. I have pointed out, later, a few cases where it might be applied; cf. §§ 120, 155, 169.

Original spelling.

11 The spelling of the editions used has been kept only in quotations of single rimes; when several rime-words of the same kind are combined into groups, the present E. spelling has been adopted. Where the original spelling may be of importance for the determination of the pronunciation of the rime-words, it has been specially pointed out. This has been done very often in Spenser's rimes, in Pope's only in one or two cases, where I have had recourse to Warburton's edition (1752), as the Globe Edition gives on the whole the present E. spelling.

Influence (on riming) of tradition and orthography.

12 The influence of tradition on riming in the Mod. E. period has been pointed out by Dam & Stoffel among others, Chapters p. 37: . . . »rhymes, not of English poets only, often represent and require an obsolete or obsolescent pronunciation of the words in question. One poet imitates another, and in this way a sort of poetical dialect springs up, of which conservatism is one of the most strongly marked characteristics. This conservatism acts in various directions, in the retention of words and constructions that have altogether disappeared from the spoken language, as well as in pronunciation, for instance.» — Here, however, no attempt is made at determining the limits of this »poetical dialect» as regards pronunciation. But Luick, E. St. 26, 271 ff. in his review of Bauermeister's and Dierberger's treatises, adduces traditional influence to account for some groups of rimes in Spenser and Dryden; and later e. g. Horn Gr. (§ 19, and *passim*) considers different groups of rimes occurring in the Mod. E. period to be traditional. — It is evident that — disregarding the case of mere imitators — the influence of tradition is apt to grow stronger the more the knowledge of poets of past times is spread among authors and readers; so that, *ceteris paribus*, such influence should be more conspicuous in the rimes of a later poet than in those of an earlier. Yet there are factors which impair the practical validity of this assumption. Besides the individual dispositions of the poets there is also to be considered the general feeling as to phonetic

correctness in riming, which feeling has changed considerably in the course of the Mod. E. period.

13 A very cursory investigation of SPENSER's language will be enough to show that he uses a great many forms no longer current in his time. Many of these can be traced back to ME authors, mainly Chaucer, with whom Spenser was compared by his contemporaries and whom he certainly took for a model (cf. Mother Hubberds Tale); Fuller, Worthies of England 1662 (cf. Globe Ed. p. XIII), expressly speaks of his many Chaucerisms. But if it is unquestionable that Spenser was greatly influenced by earlier poetry, it should be noticed with regard to his riming that as a rule he seems to borrow the obsolete form with a corresponding obsolete pronunciation, so that he feels his rimes of this kind to be phonetically correct (cf. e. g. *hond, lond*, etc. and the contemporary evidence of Gill: »*lond* pro *land* in Spenser»). This is certainly a kind of traditional influence, but of a far more casual and less definable type than that with which we are here concerned, viz. the traditional use of (groups of) rimes which were not felt by author or reader to be phonetically correct. Now, in Spenser there occur numerous rimes which may be traditional also in this sense of the term. Yet, the fact that so many of these as well as of other apparently anomalous rimes can be accounted for by the help of actually evidenced ME and early Mod. E. phonetic variants, certainly gives the impression that in these cases at least, and possibly in others as well, Spenser knew or had in mind a pronunciation suiting the rimes. — At any rate it may be asserted that there are few absolutely certain traces of traditional influence (of the kind here meant) in Spenser's rimes. For the rimes μɛ ɛ̄ : μɛ ę̄; μɛ ǭ : μɛ ọ̄, μɛ ęu : μɛ ọu, which are traditional according to Luick E. St. 26 l. c., cf. §§ 224, 320, 318 respectively.

14 In POPE's rimes the influence of tradition is distinctly discernible. With the exception of occasional cases, practically all those of his rimes which must be considered phonetically incorrect, are authorized by the usage of older poets, especially those of the 17th c. (Dryden, Waller, etc.). — Obsolete forms, borrowed together with the corresponding obsolete pronunciations, occur occasionally in Pope's rimes as well as in Byron's and Swinburne's, but they are generally marked by the spelling in a way that leaves no doubt as to the pronunciations intended (cf. e. g. *understond: Irelond* in Pope's imitation of Chaucer, p. 177).

15 BYRON'S rimes show the influence of tradition at its height. This fact is partly accounted for by Byron's well-known admiration for the 17th c. poets, especially Pope; but the main cause is to be sought in the general opinion on riming which seems to have prevailed in the second half of the 18th c. and probably still in Byron's time. — As an illustration of this opinion I quote the following passage from Walker's Rhyming Dict. p. 669[1] (»Preface to the index of perfect and allowable rhymes«): »Obs. 1. Whatever has been constantly practised by our most harmonious poets, may be safely presumed to be agreeable to the genius of our poetry: it is highly probable that our prosody has passed its meridian, and that no reformation can possibly be made without injuring it. The delicate ears of a Pope or an Addison, would scarcely have acquiesced in the usage of imperfect rhymes, and sanctioned them so often by their practice, if such rhymes had been really a blemish . . .« Here traditional rimes are expressly legalized, in spite of their admitted phonetical incorrectness. And these views on riming were certainly not the invention of Walker, but the common opinion in his time. Kenrick's disapproval of the poets (p. 39 ; cf. Ellis p. 1052) because of their rimes μɛ oi : μɛ ī is caused, *not* because these rimes were (at least as a rule) phonetically incorrect, but because they promoted the »vicious custom« of pronouncing *oi*, *oy* = μɛ ī. — Walker's opinion on riming as given in his »Obs. 1.« above, seems to spring from ignorance of the fact that many of these poets' »faulty« rimes were correct according to pronunciations prevalent or at least existing in their time. From that same point of view he is quite logical in continuing in his »Obs. 3.« (p. 670): »It will be necessary, therefore, to observe, that, although authorities are not brought for the usage of every individual allowable rhyme, the species of these rhymes, if I may call them so, are amply and repeatedly illustrated. For the same ear which allows *glass* to rhyme with *place*, or *place* with *peace* and *distress*, will permit *decay'd* to rime with *fled*, and *shade* with *mead*; . . .«. This statement implies — to take a more striking instance then those given in this quotation — that e. g. a rime *deep* : *gape* would be allowable, on the authority of older poets; and that this is actually Walker's opinion is shown, in the very case quoted, by his rule under the heading EEP (p. 688): »Creep, deep, sheep . . . Allowable rhymes, ape, rape, etc. . . .«. Now, such rimes — which may be called *quasi-traditional* — are obviously

[1] The first edition appeared 1775.

monstrosities from an historical point of view; they are not found in Dryden or Pope, and certainly not before them either. Rimes of this kind are of course utterly useless as a direct criterion of pronunciation, but on the other hand they are often most useful as an indirect one. That is to say, an 18th or 19th c. rime *deep* : *gape* would tell us nothing about the relations between the two vowels actually rimed together, but we could tell by it that the rimer had lost the old distinction με ẹ̄ ⟩ με ę̄, so that he rimed με ẹ̄ : με ā on the authority of the actually existing older rimes με ę̄ : με ā, to which they were equivalent in his own pronunciation.

In the course of the 19th c. a reaction set in against the excess- 16
ive use of traditional (and quasi-traditional) rimes. Ellis is well known to have been very hard on the modern »bad rhymers» (cf. § 3); and the same views are held by different authors of theoretical works on riming, cf. the following illustrative instances. J. Longmuir writes in his Preface to Walker's Rhyming Dictionary, p. VI: »With regard to the ingenious Appendix, exhibiting *Perfect, nearly perfect,* and *allowable* rhymes, — had we been producing a new work instead of a new edition of a work of the former century, all that refers to *allowable* rhymes would certainly have been cancelled, as no longer tolerable to a poetic ear;...». Tom Hood (the Younger) in his »Guide to English Versification» (London 1877) criticizes Walker's »allowable» rimes (which he considers allowable to *poets,* but not to *versifiers*), pointing out that the pronunciation of English had changed since the 17th c., »which Walker evidently did not know». Cf. further Ellis' quotations (p. 866) from Prof. S. S. Haldeman: Rhymes of the poets by *Felix Ago* (Philadelphia 1868).

To such a growing craving, on the part of critics and theorists 17
generally, for phonetically correct rimes may be due the fact that SWINBURNE, in his long poetic career, has grown more and more careful about the phonetical likeness of the words he rimes: in PB I (1866), the »faulty» rimes are, comparatively, very numerous, whilst Ch (1904), the latest of his rimed works, is practically free from »faulty» rimes. This fact may lie partly in his growing power over his materials and partly in personal taste; but these are certainly not the only reasons.

The influence of orthography on riming can certainly not be 18
totally denied; but in my opinion it has generally been greatly overestimated and made responsible for many rimes that are due to other causes as well. — Above all, it should be kept in mind

that orthography cannot possibly be adduced as an excuse for a non-phonetic rime till it has been comparatively well fixed and has obtained some sort of supremacy over pronunciation. Such a supremacy can hardly be said to have existed in the 16th c. though occasional tendencies in this direction are actually recorded from that time (cf. Kœppel p. 2) — the influence of the spelling and pronunciation of Latin (and of learned loan-words), cf. § 347, is another matter altogether — but it is to some extent implied for the 17th c. by Wallis' rules for pronunciation (cf. Luick U. § 17) and clearly appears in the 18th c., e. g. by Dr. Johnson's laying down (Preface to Dictionary; cf. Ellis p. 627) as »the best general rule, to consider those as the most elegant speakers who deviate least from the written words». As Kœppel points out l. c. (referring to Miss Soames), this supremacy of orthography is at work even in present E., though its power has, of course, been greatly reduced. — Apart from these theoretical relations of spelling and pronunciation, an unmistakable practical influence of orthography appears, in some cases very early, in different »spelling-pronunciations» of special words, cf. Kœppel. These, however, naturally consist, in the main, of »book words», entering the spoken language by way of the written language; and they have little to do with the general relations of orthography and pronunciation.

19 Bauermeister p. 13 f. writes as follows about the orthography of Spenser's rimes: »Mit ganz besonderer Vorsicht sind die Schreibungen *unserer* Reime zu behandeln, weil Spenser oder der Drucker offenbar die Neigung besass, die Reimsilben fürs Auge identisch zu machen, z. T. um die lautliche Unreinheit zu verdecken (Ellis), z. T. aber auch, weil sie trotz der in der gewöhnlichen Orthographie verschiedenen Schreibung lautlich identisch sind.» — In fact, it is not certain that there are any cases which must be referred to the first of these categories. Besides, if there are really such cases, and if these cases should be ascribed to Spenser and not to the printers (as to the »high-handed ways» of these latter cf. Dam & Stoffel, Chapters p. 1 ff.), they certainly show that Spenser assigned some importance — though perhaps only from a decorative point of view — to the orthographical likeness of the riming syllables, but at the same time they imply such a disregard of the generally accepted orthography (i. e. in words in which there was a generally accepted orthography) that they can surely not prove Spenser to have considered orthographical likeness by itself a sufficient reason for using phonetically incorrect rimes. — After

all, it may be asserted that orthography was a very unimportant factor in Spenser's riming, as well as in that of 16th c. poets generally (cf. e. g. Brugger p. 4). — On the rimes of Pope, Byron, and Swinburne, it has evidently exercised a certain influence, but in no or almost no cases can it be regarded as the sole reason of non-phonetic rimes. In practically all cases of so-called »eye-rimes» or »printer's rimes», tradition must also be considered to have had some influence; in most cases also the lack (or scarcity) of phonetic rime-words. Signal examples of this kind are to be found in the use in present E. of *love* as a rime to *move* etc., *grove* etc., and of *give, live* to *drive, alive,* etc.

We have hitherto dealt with the influence of tradition and orthography as positive factors in riming, i. e. their power of calling forth phonetically incorrect rimes; it remains to ascertain whether they have exercised any negative influence, i. e. totally prevented or materially delayed rimes between phonetically equivalent syllables. — In fact, Luick U. § 127 holds it possible or even probable that tradition has exercised a retarding influence of this kind in ME; and the same view is held by Kruisinga, Anglia, Beiblatt 1907, p. 260, as to the influence of orthography in Shakespeare's rimes. — In no case, however, has such a retarding influence of tradition and orthography been proved, to my knowledge; and it seems to me extremely improbable — but for the case of mere imitators — both in ME and in the 16th c. where tradition had much less power and orthography was much less fixed and respected than at a later date (cf. above). In the case of later poets an influence of this kind would be more likely. Among the rimes of Byron there are in fact some cases where tradition and orthography could be considered to have acted in a restrictive way (e. g. rimes to μs wăr(c), cf. § 278); but these cases should probably be ascribed to peculiarities in Byron's pronunciation. — The all but total absence in Swinburne of rimes such as *laud*: *lord* (I have found only the rime PB I: 173, given § 66) is not quite a case in point, partly because the words may differ in Swinburne's own pronunciation — at least in his own opinion — and further because rimes of this kind have come to be used to represent the vulgar pronunciation [ɔə] for [ɔɔ] in words as *all, law, thaw,* etc.; cf. Stoffel, Studies p. 184; for other instances cf. Punch, e. g. $^{29}/_{6}$ 1889 p. 321 (»Lor'» : »hor» [= awe]), $^{27}/_{7}$ 1889 p. 42 (»Report»:»ort»[=ought]), $^{15}/_{8}$ 1891 p. 76 (»Broads»: »'oards»[=hoards]). It is true that such rimes are given as correct by J. E. Carpenter:

»A Handbook of Poetry» etc. (London 1868) — e. g. *born : corn : dawn : horn : lawn: warn: worn*, etc. — but as this author declares (p. 11) that » *Ear* and *hear, hair* and *air* . . . having the same sound though of different meanings, are inadmissible» as rimes, he is certainly guilty of the »cockneyish» pronunciation imputed to him by Tom Hood in his »Guide» p. 45 (cf. § 16), who further declares (p. 48) that »such atrocities as *morn* and *dawn* . . . *fought* and *sort* are fatal to the success of verse», do not »chime to an educated ear», and are as vulgar as the »dropping of the *h*».

On the other hand it is obvious that a considerable discrepancy of orthography would go a long way to reduce the power of tradition in preserving non-phonetic, traditional rimes.

Dialect influence.

21 It is well-known that the present (standard) E. though mainly based upon the ME East Midland dialect (later = the dialect of London) contains numerous loans from other dialects. In early Mod. E. this influence of other dialects was considerably more important than the present traces would seem to indicate, as appears from the statements of the orthoepists, who at least pretend to give the standard pronunciation of their time. — Such dialect variants as well as other variants actually recorded by the orthoepists as belonging to the standard language, must of course be noted in judging the rimes of all poets of those times. It is quite another matter if an author, on account of his birth and breeding, may be supposed to have used a really dialectal pronunciation, differing from the standard pronunciation of his time. — SPENSER seems to have belonged to a Northern family and to have lived in the North — possibly with his relations — for some time; but according to Morris (Globe Ed. p. XVIII) there is little doubt that he was not only London born but also London bred, and so his language ought to have been — in the main at least — in accordance with the language of London. His rimes, as regards the general value of the vowels, do not speak against this conclusion. It is true, he uses a great number of conspicuously Northern forms, especially in »The Shepheards Calender», which are expressly stated to be »Northern» by »E. K.», the contemporary author of the »Glosse» to this poem; but these Northern forms can very well have been intentionally and consciously borrowed by Spenser, as well as his numerous other unusual forms (cf. the numerous oldfashioned words and phrases evidently

taken from Chaucer or other ME authors) and need not spring from Spenser's own (habitual) pronunciation. — POPE was a Londoner by birth and breeding, and his language was certainly that of an educated Londoner of his time. — As to SWINBURNE, born in London (1837), educated at Eton and Oxford, and afterwards residing practically all his life in or in the neighbourhood of London, there is no reason to look for dialectal peculiarities in his language (the poetry he has written in dialect language — see above § 1 — is not taken into consideration).

With BYRON, the question is not so easily decided. The main 22
events of his career are as follows: Born in London 1788, of a Scotch mother, who very soon took him to Aberdeen, where he lived to his tenth year in altogether Scotch surroundings. In 1798 he went with his mother to Nottingham and in 1799 to London to a private tutor; from 1801-1805 he was at Harrow, and from 1805-1808 at Cambridge; from 1809-1811 he travelled abroad, and was from 1811-1816 in England; afterwards he remained abroad until his death in 1824. — It seems a matter of course that in his childhood, while living at Aberdeen, Byron knew — and probably himself used — the dialect of that neighbourhood. In later years, especially through his education at Harrow and Cambridge, he no doubt acquired the standard E. pronunciation of his time, at least in its main characteristics; but it appears from a remark on his pronunciation made by one of his contemporaries (cf. Nichol p. 17) that even then he retained a slight Scotch accent, though he vigorously denied it himself. — After all, it seems hardly probable that Byron's rimes should show any forms of special words, conspicuously taken from his original dialect (Aberdeen). Some of his anomalous rimes — cf. e. g. §§ 24, 279 (*lady* : μɛ ĕ; *water* : μɛ ă) could certainly be explained as being due to forms of this kind; but there always remains the possibility that they are mere individual licences, as these latter are very numerous among Byron's rimes. — It would be far more natural if Byron's rimes showed signs of Sc. E. pronunciation, i. e. one or other of the general pecularities which, as a rule quite unconsciously, adhere to the pronunciation even of such Sc. people as are tolerably well acquainted with the standard E. pronunciation. In fact, Byron's rimes have many points of correspondence with Sc. E. pronunciation, appearing as well in the frequent use of certain kinds of rimes as in the more or less complete avoidance of others; and these Sc. E. characteristics are certainly too numerous to be regarded as merely accidental.

23 It will prove convenient to pass in review at this point the more important of the general Sc. E. vowel peculiarities from the point of view of their appearance or non-appearance in Byron's rimes. — The following differences may be left out of consideration, either as being due to late (19th c.) Southern E. developments, or as being too small to appear in rimes, or from there being no rimes where they could appear: St. E. ij, iə (as in *see, fear*) ✗ Sc. E. close [ī], [īr] (cf. e. g. Sweet, Primer of Ph. §§ 196, 211); St. E. ei, eə (as in *say, bare*) ✗ Sc. E. [ē̤], [ē̤r] (cf. e. g. Sweet, l. c. §§ 197, 198); St. E. ɔɔ(ə) (as in *more, lord*) (= »Low back narrow round») ✗ Sc. E. [ōr], i. e. »Mid back wide round» according to Murray p. 111, Sweet l. c. § 202; St. E. ou (as in *no*) ✗ Sc. E. [ō], »Mid back wide round» (= the long of Sc. E. [ŏ] in *not*, cf. below) according to Murray pp. 94, 111; according to Sweet, l. c. § 201 = the corresponding narrow vowel; St. E. (j)uw, (j)uə, u (as in *new, do, cure, full*) ✗ Sc. E. close [ū], [ūr], [ŭ] (i. e. St. E. wide ✗ Sc. E. narrow, cf. Sweet l. c. § 200).

24 Here may be mentioned also the peculiar laws for vowel quantity, characteristic of the Sc. dialects; cf. for the Southern dialects of Scotland, Murray p. 97. Of course Byron did not pronounce according to these purely dialectal laws; but his original dialect may have left in his later pronunciation an uncertainty as to vowel quantity which may, in part at least, be responsible for his numerous rimes between vowels of different quantity in St. E. Peculiarities of vowel quantity are actually recorded in many cases as a Sc. E. characteristic; cf. W. p. XI, Bell, Pr. of El. p. 34 ff. : Sc. E. [ŭ], for με ō̤ (in *food, mood, moon, soon*, etc; *pool, fool*, etc.); Bell, l. c. : e. g. Sc. E. v̆l in *feet, people, mean*, etc.; *paint, lady, trade*, etc.; *broken, loaf, coals*, etc.; v̄l in *death, edify*, etc.; *apple, axe, pacify*, etc. Some of these peculiarities certainly seem to appear in Byron's rimes (cf. e. g. *lady*: με ĕ § 107); but as the rimes concerned can very well be explained otherwise (: tradition, spelling, individual license; cf. the question of Aberdeen forms, above § 22), they cannot be taken as proofs of Sc. proclivities in Byron's language. — The Sc. habit of making St. E. short vowels half long, St. E. long vowels still longer (= »the Scotch drawl», cf. Murray p. 97 f.; further W. p. XI), can hardly appear in rimes and is consequently not considered here.

25 The Sc. E. pronunciation of present E. i is in words like *vision, decision, religion, individual, vicious* (only [ɪ̆-] ?) = με ē̤

according to W. p. XI, = μɛ ē »short» according to Bell, Pr. of El. p. 34; in many other words almost = [ĕ], e. g. *bid, hid, rid,* W. l. c.; *fill, crib, dig, him,* etc., Bell l. c.; *sit,* Sweet, Pr. of Ph. § 196. — St. E. e is in Sc. E. more open, bordering on St. E. æ; e. g. *bed, fed, red,* W. l. c.; *very, perish,* Bell l. c. p. 35; cf. further Sweet l. c. § 196 f., Storm p. 401. — The Sc. E. open quality of present E. e cannot be recognized in Byron's rimes (cf. § 248); as to his rimes to present E. i, they are not in accordance with the Sc. E. distinctions just given, though it is possible that the Sc. E. open pronunciation of present E. i in *bid* etc. has been of influence on the number of Byron's rimes present E. i : e (§§ 98, 248). Regarding these last rimes there is also to be noticed the pronunciation of present E. e in special words as [ĭ], given as a Scotticism by Bell Pr. of El. p. 35 (in »twenty, ever, never, ef-, em-, en-, ex-, etc.»).

St. E. æ is generally = [ă] in the Sc. dialects (cf. EDGr. § 23); in Sc. E. = the short of present E. aa according to Bell, Pr. of El. p. 35 (e. g. *man, gas, am, cat*), Sounds p. 41 (e. g. *man*), or deeper (= »Low back wide»), according to Murray p. 110. This pronunciation is not given by W. or in Sweet's Pr. of Ph. as a Sc. E. characteristic, and it certainly seems too striking to be attributed to Byron; but Byron may have been unconsciously influenced by it in his choice between different kinds of »allowable rimes». Byron's usual pronunciation may very well have been = the St. E. æ or a vowel standing between St. E. æ and [ă]. — The rimes do not quite decide this question, cf. § 266.

Very important is the relation of Byron's rimes to the Sc. E. 26
pronunciation of present E. aa, ɔɔ, and ɔ. In many Sc. dialects μɛ au (incl. μɛ ăl & ălᶜ & μɛ-aught) is an unrounded vowel (practically always in the Aberdeen dialect and, as a rule, in all North Eastern Scotland, cf. EDGr. §§ 38, 39, 40, 49), and this dialectal peculiarity often adheres to the pronunciation of cultivated Sc. people, who consequently identify μɛ au with the vowel in *father, barn,* etc., which latter is of a deeper quality in Sc. (E.) (than in St. E.), = the long of Sc. (E.) [ă] (cf. Murray p. 110: »Low back wide»). W. l. c. and Sweet Pr. of Ph. do not give this pronunciation as a Sc. E. characteristic,[1] but it is mention-

[1] Sweet l. c. § 202 actually gives the Sc. E. pronunciation of μɛ au as »Mid back wide round». This pronunciation may spring from some special Sc. dialects (cf. EDGr, ll. cc.); or it may be explained as due to exaggera-

ed by Bell, Pr. of El. p. 36,[1] and, in a couple of instances, by Ellis p. 1051 (bottom). The same Sc. E. identification is evidently made by Jamieson (p. 1) who gives four different sounds of *a* : »1. *A* broad, as in E. *all, wall* . . . 2. *A*, in *lak, mak, tak*, Scottish, as in *last, past*, English. 3. *A*, in *lane*,. . . *mane*, S(c). like *bane, fane*, E. . . . 4. *A, in dad, daddie*, and some other words, S(c)., as in *read*, pret. *ready*, E.» The vowel 2. seems to be the Sc. [ă], and in this case the vowel in *father* etc. must be included in the »*a* broad» exemplified by *all, wall*. — This same unrounded vowel is used in Sc. also for μɛ wăr(c), which in the Sc. dialects generally (as in most other dialects) is completely identical with μɛ ăr(c), the *w* having no influence on the vowel (EDGr. § 28); and the Sc. E. identification of St. E. ɔɔ and aa (cf. above) includes also μɛ wăɪ(c) (cf. Bell & Ellis ll. cc.) (and *water*). — This non-influence of *w* in the Sc. dialects comprehends also μɛ wă, which consequently is = μɛ ă (= [ă]). This last dialect peculiarity I have not found mentioned as a Sc. E. characteristic (as little as the »back» pronunciation of μɛ ă which is wanted for the identification of μɛ wă and μɛ ă); but it certainly helps to accentuate, in Sc. E., the distinction μɛ wă ⟩⟨ μɛ ŏ, which is kept up for St. E. e. g. by Murray in NED (cf. Storm p. 456), and by Ellis, cf. his table of symbols pp. 3-12 (»A»⟩⟨ »ɔ»), and which is given as the pronunciation of »many speakers» by Bell, Sounds p. 49) yet not mentioned in Pr. of El. p. 30, »Twelfth vowel», which heading includes words of both kinds) [Murray might have this distinction from his native (Sc.) dialect as well as Bell, cf. Storm p. 404]. The distinction μɛ wă⟩⟨ μɛ ŏ is further accentuated in Sc. E. by μɛ ŏ being there = »Mid back wide round» according to Sweet Pr. of Ph. § 203, Murray p. 111 (according to W. l. c. and Bell, Pr. of El. p. 36, μɛ ŏ is in Sc. often pronounced as μɛ ŭ, cf. below § 27). — The Sc. (E) identification of St. E. ɔɔ and aa in an unrounded vowel explains the usual Sc. E. distinction between St. E. ɔɔ < μɛ au & μɛ wăr(c) and St. E. ɔɔ < μɛ-ought & μɛ ŏr(c), and in (*a*)*broad*, which are in Sc. E. brought in connection with μɛ ǭ (cf. Bell El. Man. p. 46; Pr. of El. p.

tion, in Sc. E., of the difference between the St. E. rounded and the dial. Sc. unrounded pronunciation of μɛ au.

[1] Cf. p. 35, where quite the opposite is given as a Scotticism: »Vowel 9 as No. 13, as palm, papa, far, star, etc.; pronounced pawm, papaw, faur, stawr, etc.»; a contradiction obviously due to Bell's vowels 9 and 13 being identified in the pronunciation Bell has in view.

36, where *broad, bought, cost, morn* = ɹɛ ǭ is given as a Scotticism).[1] — In all these points, Byron's rimes show an unmistakable conformity with the Sc. E. pronunciation. Influence of tradition and spelling may have been at work in many of the rime-groups concerned but can hardly be accepted as the only explanation in all cases. Cf. §§ 273, 277, 278, 295, 301, 309, 316. — For the Sc. E. — and Byron's — pronunciation of ME ă and ME ŏ| s(c), th, and of the vowels in *command* etc., *haunt* etc., see §§ 280, 281, 284, 299.

Present E. u < ME ŭ (as to the Sc. E. close [ŭ] for present 27
E. u, see above § 23) is in Sc. dialects generally = ɹɛ ŭ (cf. Murray pp. 147, 149; EDGr. § 98 f.), a peculiarity recorded as a Scotticism by Bell, Pr. of El. p. 36 (»woman, full, bull, push, etc.») and by W. Principles 174. — As to Byron's rimes cf. § 327.

Present E. au (= ɹɛ ū) has in St. E. its first element = »Low mixed wide», in Sc. E. = »Mid back narrow» (Sweet, Pr. of Ph. § 194). It is doubtful whether this Sc. E. peculiarity appears in Byron's rimes (see § 330). As to the pronunciation of »house, proud, cow, etc.» with ɹɛ ǭ, of »pound, ground, etc.» with ɹɛ ŭ, and of »bowl, soul, mould, etc.» with ɹɛ ū, given as Scotticisms by Bell, Pr. of El. pp. 36, 37, cf. for Byron's rimes § 330.

Present E. ɐ (= ɹɛ ŭ) is in Sc. dialects as well as in Sc. E. a more »back» or open vowel than in St. E.; even = »Low back» according to Bell, Sounds p. 40; »too deep or guttural», Pr. of El. p. 35; cf. Sweet, Pr. of Ph. § 191; Storm p. 400: »resembling ǫ in *not*» (quot. from Sweet). — For Byron's pronunciation of ɹɛ ŭ, cf. his numerous rimes ɹɛ ŭ : ɹɛ ŏ, §§ 154, 342. — The same pronunciation as of ɹɛ ŭ is used in Sc. E. also of ɹɛ ŭr (Bell, Pr. of El. p. 36; Storm p. 399), which is consequently distinguished from ɹɛ ĭr and ɹɛ ĕr. This distinction does not, however, appear in Byron's rimes; see § 357.

[1] In Visible Speech p. 115, Bell — on account of his Sc. origin, according to Storm, p. 403 — gives a corresponding distinction also for St. E.; he gives one sound (= the long of the vowel in *salt, want*, etc.) in *all, laud, fraught, taught, law*, etc.; *war, ward, swarm*, etc.; another (= the long of the [ŏ] in *honest*) in *broad, thought, sought*. In Pr. of El. p. 31 (»Thirteenth vowel»), Bell evidently has given up this distinction as far as St. E. is concerned.

CHAPTER I.

Rime-Lists.

A. Rimes to obsolete words (in Spenser).

28 The arranging of the rimes according to present E. pronunciation necessitates a special arrangement for the rimes to words which do not exist in present E. In many cases, especially when there is a question of forms of uncertain origin or of forms due to analogy, we have no means of checking the pronunciation indictated by rimes and spellings; and these cases must of course be recorded. Others, i. e. words which are etymologically clear and are rimed only with etymologically equivalent forms, could certainly have been passed over in silence; but as a rule I have given these too, though no absolute completeness has been aimed at. — For practical reasons I have included in this division (A) also a great number of the phonetic variants of present E. words which occur in Spenser's rimes, but which disappeared early and have not exercised any appreciable influence on the riming of the later poets here considered.

The forms given here are arranged under headings indicating the vowels I have supposed them to contain. — Cf. further the Glossary to Globe Ed. (Morris), Bauermeister (Index p. 179 ff.), and for verbal inflexional forms, Liese.

29 Present E. ai(ə). *for-thy* (OE þȳ) 452 a etc. *stie, sty* (OE stīgan) 116 b, 278 a. *gryde* (= to cut) 123 a, 209 a, etc. *vild* (= vile a.) 38 b etc. *lyen* pp. (= lain) (NED 4-8 *layen, lyen, lien*) 56 a. *lyne* s. (= linen) 535 b. *tyne, tine* s. (= sorow, pain; cf. OE tēonian, tȳnan > ME ē, ī, see *teene* § 30) 56 aretc. *tyne, tine* v. (= to kindle, light) 120 a, 174 b, etc. *agrise* (= to terrify) 111 a etc. *acquight, -ite* inf. (see NED; cf. requite) 145 a, 373 b, 387 b. *dight* inf. & pret. (pres. *dites* 51 b) 23 a, 44 b, etc. *pight* pret. & pp. (of to pitch) 22 a etc. *plight* s. & v. (= (to) plait; see NED) 94 a, 107 a, etc. *wight* a. (= active) 453 a. *wite* v. (= to blame, twit; OE ī) 146 b, 180 b, etc. *sith* s. (= time;

OE ī), 215 a. *b(i)live* (= quickly; cf. alive) 36 a, 55 a, etc. *relive* (= to revive) 200 a. — Here belongs *stire* v. (= steer; OE stīeran, stȳran, stēoran), rimed : ɹɛ ī 80 b; cf. Luick U. § 537 (X Brugger p. 23). Possibly also *stire* v. (= stir; OE styrian), rimed : ɹɛ ī 102 a, 128 b, 198 b; ɹɛ ī in this word may be the result of an early lengthening of the vowel, or of a mixing with the *stire* above.

Present E. ij. 30

ɹɛ ę̄. *lee* s. [= »river», according to the Glossary of Globe Ed. Occurs only as *Lee* (capital *l*) and rimed only with ɹɛ ę̄ : 302 a, 606 a (496 a : *yvorie*); probably not identical with *lea* s. = plain etc., which is constantly spelt *lea* and rimed with ɹɛ ę̆ : 237 a, 289 b, 449 b, 467 b, 552 a. CD and NED give no information]. *yeed* v. (= to go) 96 b. *prieſe* s. *breem* a. (OE brēme; NED breme) 433 b. *queme* v. (OE cwēman) 458 a. *strene* s. (OE strēon). *te(e)ne* s. (= sorrow, pain; cf. § 29) 58 a, 76 a, etc. *sustene* v. 90 b. *cleep* v. (NED clepe); rimed only with ɹɛ ę̄ : 537 a, 550 a (cf. Luick, U. § 533). *weet* v. (< [ĭ-]; cf. Luick U. § 532). *weet* v. (= to wet; cf. B. § 39, Brugger p. 77) 278 a. *greet* s. & v. (OE grēotan & grǣtan, Mercian grētan; cf. NED) 454 a, 470 b. *regreet* s. (»sorrow and regreet» : *sweet* 500 b); cf. NED regreet s. (= »? Protest»), regreetable, regreeting (= »complaint, lamentation») [Spenser's *regreet* is doubtless influenced by the *greet* just mentioned; AF [ĕ] in *regretter* would of course have given ɹɛ ę̆ if lengthened]. *prieve* v. (= to prove). *mieve* v. (= to move).

ɹɛ ę̆. *treague* s. (= truce; cf. CD) 90 a. *unheal* v. (= to discover) 152 a, 253 b. *ve(a)le* s. (= veil; CD *vele*: »old spelling») 31 ; rimed only with ɹɛ ę̆: 152 a, 170 b, 253 b, 283 a, 526 a (307 b with *Florimele*); no form with *-ei-* (*-ai-*) appears in the rimes. *eme* (OE ēam) 136 b. *heame* s. (= home; »after the northerne pronouncing», Glosse 1579) 481 a. *reame* s. (= realm; only rimed with ɹɛ ę̆) 187 b, 272 b, 329 b. *encheason* s. (= cause etc.) 460 a. *geason* (OE gǣsne, -ē-) 381 a, 512 b, 536 a. *extreate* s. (= extraction) 343 a. *eath, uneath* a. (OE ēaþe). *greave* s. (= thicket; see NED) 216 a, 370 b. *leave* v. (= levy; NED quotes only this case) 134 b. *yeven* pp. (cf. Luick St. p. 206) 455 b; see § 100.

Spenser's *read, reed, rede* s. (NED rede; cf. B. § 39) occurs with ɹɛ ę̄ ~ ɹɛ ę̆, see § 53.

Present E. iə. *(y)fere* s. (OE ē). *hear(e)* s. (= hair. 32 ME ę̆ ~ ę̄, ten Br. § 25; cf. Luick, Anglia 14,456). *le(a)re* s. & v. —

Cf. further for these words § 228 ff. — For *brere* s. (= brier) and *en-, requere* (= -ire), see § 237.

33 Present E. i. *snib* v. (cf. Swedish »snubba»). *abid* pret. (of abide). *thrid* s. (= thread) 240 b. *sicker* a. (= sure) 516 b. *spilt*(= inlaid). *(b)lin* v. *gin* s. (= engine, plot). *flit(t)* a. (= fleet, cf. NED) 7 a, 100 b, etc. *requit* (= requited). *smitt* pret. (of smite) 19 b, 123 b, etc. *shit* v. (= shut; cf. Diehl p. 26) 556 a. *drive* pret. & pp. 58 b, etc. & *rive* pp. 348 a; see § 88. *lich* a. 35 b, 196 b. *sich* a. 196 b. Further: *spill* : μɛ ĭ 470 b (=play?); *widder* (= »wider» according to the Glossary of Globe Ed.) : *shidder* (Glossary of Globe Ed. : »generally explained as *she*» — thus in Glosse 1579 — »but if not a corruption of *thider* (thither) must mean *she-deer*, she animals») 475 a.

34 Present E. e. *bed* pret. (= bade) 58 b. *ycled* pp. (cf. B. § 72). *pled* pret. (of plead). *hefte* pret. (of heave). *wefte* pret. (= waved, cf. B. § 78). *flex* s. (= flax). *wex* v. (= wax; cf. B. § 27). *mell* v. (= to mix) e. g. 337 a. *sell* s. (= saddle). [*vermell* 134 a.] *teld* (= told) 426 a, 430 b. *gelt* (= gold, money) 448 b. *swelt* inf. & pret. 44 a, 220 b, 263 b, 420 a. *(mis)dempt* pp. (of -deem) 214 b, 220 a. *nempt* pp. (= named) 214 b. *frenne* s. (Glosse 1579: »straunger») 455 a. *over-ren* inf. (= -run). *hend* inf. & *hent* pret. & pp. (= seize(d)) e. g. 111 b, 141 b, 350 b. *bren(t)* (= burn(t)). *drent* pp. (cf. B. § 144) 118 b, 145 b, 331 a. *ment* pp.; for rimes see B. § 144; further : μɛ ĕ 505 a, 515 b; spelt *meynt* while rimed : μɛ e 467 a; cf. § 36. *bless* v. (= blesser F.). *cesse* v. 274 a. *decesse* s. 344 b. *desse* (= dais). *kest* v. (= cast; for rimes cf. B. § 74; further 494 a). *prest* a. 244 a, 329 b. *affret* s. (= onset, attack) 207 b, 237 a, etc. *arret* v. (= to allot). *bett, ybet, surbet* pret. & pp. (of beat) 24 b, 89 a, etc. *fett* inf. & pret. (< OE *fettan, according to Luick U. § 433). *swet* pret. (of sweat : cf. Gill) 283 a. *levin* s. (= lightning) 467 a. *ketch* v. (= to catch; cf. B. § 85). *plesh* s. (= plash) 123 a.

35 Present E. ei.

μɛ ā. *bade* pret. (of bid) 322 a. *rade* pret. (of ride) cf. § 38 (*rad*) and § 112. *trade* s. (=tread) e. g. 110 a, 500 b; cf. *troad* § 41. *crake* (= boast; B. § 78). *make* s. (= mate etc.) 583 b. *(be)spake* pret. *strake* pret. (of strike). *ywrake* pp. (of OE *wrecan*). *brake* pret. (of break). *brame* s. (= longing, NED). *clambe* pret. (cf. NED : should have [ă]; yet the spelling *clame* is found in the 16th c.), rimed : *came* 424 a. *awhape* inf. *at bace* (cf. NED)

332 b. *bate* pret. (of bite). *(for)gate* pret. (of -get). *wrate* pret. (of write; cf. Luick U. § 34). *retrate* s.; cf. B. § 51 (*retreat* is rimed with present E. ij only 259 a, 266 b). *drave* pret. (of drive).

μɛ ai. *fay* s. (= faith) 334 a, 474 a. *lay* s. (= lea; NED 36
lea, sb²) cf. B. § 41. *lay* (= OF lei, loi). *tway* (= two)46 b, etc. *appay* v. (= to appease). *embay* v. (= to bathe). *denay* v. (= to deny). *abray, abrade* (= -aid; cf. NED abraid; B. § 144). *quayd* (= quailed, cf. NED). *entail* v. (= to carve). *raile, rayle* v. (= to flow etc.; NED : »of obscure origin»; cf. B. § 156). *darrayne* s. (NED deraign). *demain* s. (= demeanor). *saine*, pres. pl. (of say). *wained* pp. 424 a (here obviously = governed, possessed). *queint* pp. (of OE *cwencan; cf. B. § 144) 103 a. *payse* v. (= to poise). *keight* (= caught; cf. B. § 182). *bate* (= fed) 473 b; probably a pp. of bait = to feed etc., cf. the spelling *bate* = bait, attack 422 b.

To this group probably belongs also *meint* pp. (of OE mengan), rimed with *constrainte* 482 b. Yet it should be observed that early Mod. E. forms of *constraint* with the spelling *-ent* are recorded (NED 15th c.), so that there is the mere possibility that this is meant to be a rime μɛ ĕ : μɛ ĕ, and *meint* only a spelling for *ment*, as in the case given § 34.

Present E. eə. 37

μɛ ār. *bare* pret. (of bear). *sware* pret. (of swear). *tare*: pret. (of tear). *ware* pret. (of wear). — Further *chayre* (= chary): μɛ air 187 a (NED gives only *chare*; no form with - *ai-*, *-ay-*).

μɛ air. *laire* s. (= plain) : μɛ air 273 a; probably identical with *lare* s. (= pasture) : μɛ ār 270 b (cf. NED lair sb¹).

ME ę̄r (= μɛ ę̄r). *whyle(a)re.*

Present E. æ. *ydrad* pret. & pp. (of dread). *lad* pret. & 38
pp. (of lead). *rad* pret. & pp. (of read). *bestad* pret. & pp. (of beste(a)d). *sam, ysame* (= together) 66 a, 433 a, 460 a. *than* adv. (=then) 146 a. *wan* pt. (of win) 88 a, 93 a, etc. *(for)-gat* pret. 182 b, 430 a (cf. § 35). *latch* v. (OE læcc(e)an) 453 a, 461 b. — Here may belong also two prett. *rad* & *bestrad* (of ride & bestride respectively), occurring in the rime *had* : *rad* : *bestrad* 301 b (Or = μɛ ā? cf. *rade* § 35, *had* § 268). — For *guarish* (= to heal) 244 b, see § 211.

Present E. aa. *darre* (= tȯ dare. ME dar; OE dear) 39
155 a, 315 a. *narre* (= nearer. ME nerre) 528 b. *shard* s. 110 a

(= »division, boundary» : Glossary of Globe Ed.). *shard* pret. (of OE sceran) 297 b. *carke* s. (= »care» : Glosse 1579) 16 a, 481 a. *ensnarle* (= to ensnare). *beraft* pp. (of bereave) 236 b. *haske* s. 480 a. *wrast* (= to wrest) 357 a.

40 Present E. ɔɔ. *overcraw* (= »to crow over, to insult» : Glossary of Globe Ed.) 59 b, 449 b; cf. § 128. *wawes* (= waves, pl.; cf. B. § 178) 145 b. *hault* (= haughty) 368 b. *withhault* (pret. of -hold; »spurious» : CD) 140 b. *haught* (= high) 41 b. *raught* pret. & pp. (= reached). *spalles* (= épaules F.) 109 a. *paravaunt* (cf. B. § 184) 164 b, 388 a, 408 b, 558 b. *Pawnce* (= pansy) 456 a. *warre* (= worse. ME warre, werre) 470 a [I am in doubt as to the identity of the other *warre* occurring in this rime]. *mought* pret. 213 b. *endosse* (= to endorse). *deflore* (= to deflower) 596 a. *lore* pret. & pp. (= »left, lost sight of»: Glossary of Globe Ed.) 228 b, 347 b. *scorse* v. (cf. B. § 112).

41 Present E. ou. *tho* adv. (OE þā) 459 b etc. *boad* pret. (of bide) 516 b. *glode* pret. (of glide) 249 b. *troad, trode* s. (cf. § 35 *trade,* and B. § 94) 211 a, 407 b. *trode* pret. & pp. (of tread) 378 b etc. *yode* pret. (OE eode; cf. Liese p. 49). *(y)wroken* pp. (of wreak). *yold* pp. (cf. Liese p. 20). *shope* (= shaped) 320 b. *accoste* v. (cf. NED) 352 a. *(be)hote* pret. 251 b (cf. *behott* pp. § 42). *I wote* (OE wāt) 120 b. *rove* (= to shoot) 320 a. — Here probably belongs also *mowes* pl. (= grimaces, wry faces), rimed : μɛ ou 396 b; cf. Skeat Et. D., and CD.

42 Present E. ɔ.

yod pret. (= *yode,* § 41) 66 a, 232 b. *commen* v. (NED: common) 338 a. *fon* s. 456 b. *yond* (Glossary of Globe Ed.: »outrageous, terrible») 123 b, 196 b. *borrel* : *lorrel* 467 a (explained in Glosse 1579 as, respectively, »a playne fellowe» and »a losell»). *behott* pret. (= *behote,* § 41) 72 b. *smot(t)* pret. & pp. (of smite) 72 a, 167 b, etc. — *mot, mote* (OE ō) is uncertain; it is probably a literary loan in Spenser and may be meant to have μɛ ŏ as indicated by the rimes: 236 b, 412 a (cf. B. § 105; Sweet NEGr § 1482). — For *won* v. see § 47.

43 hond, lond, etc. (ME ŏ ~ ă | n(c); present E. æ). In Spenser's rimes[1] occur with μɛ ŏ (~ the more common μɛ ă; thus exclusively *sand, wand*): *bond* s.[2], *brond* s., *hond, lond, stond* inf.,

[1] The following statements, as far as FQ is concerned, are based on B.'s rime- lists §§ 89, 93.

[2] The present E. distinction *bond* ⟩⟨ *band* is not recognized by Spenser; *bond* occurs in the rimes 115 b, 239 a, 310 b, 346 a.

strond; further the pret. & pp. *bond, fond* which are not found with μɛ ă in the rimes. — Apart from numerous rimes *inter se* these words are rimed only with μɛ ŏ; i. e. *bond* pret., *fond* pret., *hond, under-, withstond, strond* : *cond* (*kond*) pret., *fond* a., *pond, wond* pret. (326 a, cf. § 47), *yond* a., *beyond* 123 b, 156 b, 178 a, 196 b, 300 a, 326 a, 550 a [Further *bond* s., *fond* pret. & pp., *lond* : *Priamond, Triamond* 239 a, 240 a, 252 a]. — The same pronunciation of *hand* is no doubt meant in *fond* a. : *hand* 473 b, and in *hand* : *withstond* : *fond* a. 203 a, in which latter case *hond* has been substituted for *hand* by the Editor of Globe Ed. — On the same footing with these words with *-ond* is the inf. *underfong*, rimed: *long* adv., *song, strong, throng* s., *wrong* 300 b, 480 a; possibly also *begon* pret. in the rime *begon* : *gon* (= gone) 140 a; and *won* pp. in the rime *thereon* : *-upon* : *won* 401 a (*fashion* : *won* : *begon* 200 a may be a rime μɛ ŭ : μɛ ŭ, cf. B. § 142).

Present E. uw, uə. 44

μɛ ǭ̣. *droome* (= drum; cf. NED: 16th c. *-ome, -oome,*) 59 a. — *hoove* (= to hover; wait, tarry, linger, stay, remain; NED: OE *ō) 556 a. This word probably occurs also 586 b (: »Ne joy of ought that under heaven doth *hove* Can comfort me, . . .«; rimed: *love, dove, move*, cf. § 153. It may occur also in the rime to *love, move* 21 a (: »Astond he stood, and up his heare did *hove*«, § 153). NED cites this last case as an instance of *hove* (with μɛ ǭ) < hove & hoven, pret. & pp. of *heave*, here used in reflexive function with the reflexive pron. left out; and the signification of the word in this case certainly favours this interpretation. At any rate the rime may be = *love* : μɛ ǭ̣, as NED records the 17th c. forms »houve«, »hoove«, of *hove* trans., which certainly point to a μɛ ǭ-variant of this word. — *soote* (= sweet(ly)) 455 b, 485 a. *loord* s. (= lout, < F. lourd) 466 b. — Besides the usual *to do*, Spenser uses two other infinitives *to done*, and *to donne;* see by *done* pp. § 333.

μɛ eu, ūu. *crewe* s. (Glosse 1579: »holy water pott«; < OF crue; rimed : *dęwe*) 450 a. *concrew* (= to grow together, cf. accrue) 266 b. *rew* s. (= row; OE rǣw; Chaucer ęu, ten Br. § 43 b) 189 b, 499 b. *shew* inf. (~ *show*; cf. B. §§ 165, 189). *newell* s. (Glosse 1579: »a newe thing«; rimed: *jewell* < AF juel, jeual) 461 a. *enure* (= to use; < en + ure = F. œuvre). — To judge from rimes and spelling, here belong also the etymologically uncertain *alew* (= halloo; cf. B. § 100) 323 b, *scruze* (= to crush) 189 b. — The pres. forms *knew(est)* 352 a, 486 b (see Globe

Ed. Appendix I) are probably only spellings for μɛ ou; in the former case this is proved by the rime-words with μɛ ou.

45 Present E. u. *wull* pres. (= will; ME wul, wol, cf. Skeat Et. D.; rimed: *full*) 590 a. — *quooke* pret. (= quaked; cf. NED) 214 a etc. *strooke* pret. (= struck; W. gives o², as in look etc.) 102 b etc. *awooke* pret. (= awoke; cf. B. § 100) 372 b, 396 a.

46 Present E. au(ə). *lout, lowt* (OE lūtan) 281 a, 288 b, etc. *stound* s. (OE stund) 46 a, 52 a, etc. — *avoure* s. (= avowal, cf. F. avouer) 376 b. *bowrs* s. pl. (= »muscles of the shoulder», according to the Glossary of Globe Ed.; NED: < bow = to bend) 53 b. *discoure* (= to discover) 165 a, 173 b. *recoure, -cower* (= to recover, intr.) 243 b etc.

For *swoun, swound* (= swoon), *wowe* (= woo; cf. Luick U. § 140) and *couth* pret. (OE cūþə), see § 144.

47 Present E. ɐ.

uncrudded (= uncurdled) 589 a. *begun* pret. (spelt *-on, -onne*) and *drunk* pret. (spelt *dronck*), cf. B. § 93. *brust* pret. & pp. (= burst) 160 b, 202 b, 334 a, 351 a, 372 b, 495 a, 560 b. *lust* (NED: »to desire, choose, wish») 334 a. *thrust* (= thirst) s. & v. 89 b, 199 a.

won s. & v. (OE wunian) is generally rimed by Spenser with μɛ ŭ, cf. B. § 125. Besides these regular rimes there are the following cases, where *won* is rimed with other vowels. *won:* ending *-ion, -on* 208 a, 361 a, 405 a (uncertain, cf. B. § 142); *wone* v.: *one* 552 b; *fone* (= foes): *woe-begone: attone: wone* v. 333 b; *won* s.: *thereupon: done* pp.: *alone* 338 b; *wond: fond* pret. (= found): *kond* pret. 326 a. In the rimes 333 b, 552 b, *wone* has μɛ ǭ, evidenced in ME for the substantive at least (Luick U. § 507). There may also have existed a form with μɛ ŏ (shortened < [ǭ], cf. B. § 125) which would account for the rime 326 a. The rime 338 b will always remain incorrect.

48 The verbs of Sievers' class III:1, ending in *-ng*, form a special group in Spenser.[1] Pret. and pp. of these verbs appear in the form *-ong* (exceptions: *rung* pret. pl. 518 a, *sung* pret. pl., and *hung* pret. pl. & pp. 232 a, 518 a), so that it cannot be inferred from the spelling whether they have μɛ ŏ (< [ă] | ng, i. e. OE pret. sg. *-ang*) or μɛ ŭ (OE pret. pl. *-ung-*). — Besides in numerous rimes *inter se*, the forms in question occur in the following rimes. *flong* pret. sg., *hong* pret. sg. & pl., *song* pret. pl., *sprong* pret. sg.,

[1] The following statements, as far as FQ is concerned, ase based upon B.'s rime- lists § 93.

strong pp.: *tongue, young, among* (179, 245) 63 b, 74 b, 80 a, 179 b, 245 b. — *flong* pp., *hong* pret. sg. & pl., pp., *rong* pret. sg., *song* pret. sg. (spelt *soong* 550 a) & pl., pp., *sprong* pret. sg. & pl., pp., *strong* pp. : *along, long, song* s., *strong* a., *throng, wrong* 115 a, 115 a, 127 b, 135 a, 162 a, 175 a, 210 b, 223 b, 232 a, 301 b, 351 a, 501 b, 502 a, 503 a, 504 a, 531 b, 550 a, 553 b. — *along* : *tong* (= tongue) : *strong* a. : *hong* pret. sg. 36 a, *hong* pret. sg. : *strong* a. : *tong* (= tongue) 46 b, *strong* a. : *along* : *sprong* pret. sg. : *emong* 146 a. Cf. §§ 154, 335.

It may be worth while to mention that Pope uses the obsolete forms *sung* (43, 67, 138, etc.), *rung* (43, 67, 121), *sprung* (154); *begun* (27, 28, etc.); always spelt *-u-* and rimed with μɛ ŭ.

Present E. əə. *dirk* (= dark) : *mirk* (= murky) 474 a; 49
both have ME *-i*-forms (NED). — *gerne* (= to grin) 356 a. *erst, earst* (= first) 51 a etc. For *inquerd* (= enquired) cf. § 237; for *werk* s. (= work), *astert* v. (= to befall), cf. § 169.

Spenser's *swe(a)rd* (= sword) has in Chaucer short or »schwebend» [e] (ten Br. § 35), so that Spenser may very well have pronounced the word with μɛ ĕ ~ μɛ ę̆, as indicated by the rimes *swerds* : *herds* s. 525 a, *appeard* : *reard* : *affeard* : *sweard* 244 b, *sweard* : *upreard* : *appeard* 245 a, *heard* pp. : *sweard* 552 b.

B. Rimes correct in present English.[1]

Present E. ai (ə) : ai (ə). 50

The rimes, as a rule, present nothing of interest. For the rimes *wind* s. : present E. ai, see § 251.

Present E. oi : oi.

Spenser. *annoy, destroy; boy, (ac)cloy, (ac)coy, employ, hoy* s., 51
(en)joy, Sansjoy, Sansfoy, Sansloy, toy, Troy; void, avoid, devoid; counterpoise; noise 16 b, 20 a, 31 a, 31 b, 40 a, 41 b, 55 b, 56 a, 74 a|b, 78 b, 88 b, 90 b, 91 a, 95 a, 105 a, 107 a, 110 a, 113 b, 129 a, 132 a, 138 a, 151 b, 152 b, 167 b, 190 b, 192 b, 193 a, 193 a, 209 b, 224 b, 245 b, 265 a, 267 b, 283 b, 287 a, 303 a, 318 b, 345 a, 368 b, 369 b, 372 a, 382 b, 434 b; 448 b, 449 b, 455 a, 472 b, 474 b, 492 b, 493 a, 497 b, 509 b, 541 b, 548 a, 550 b, 550 b, 555 b, 561 a,

[1] The rimes quoted from Spenser's FQ (Globe Ed. pp. 7—436) in the present division (B) have as a rule been taken from Bauermeister's lists.

590 b, 591 a, 594 a. *accoil* v., *assoil* v., *boil, broil* s., *recoil, droyle* v. (514), *foil* v., *moyle* v. (601), *soil* s., *spoil* s., *despoil* v., *toil* s. & v., *turmoil* 9 b, 68 a, 119 a/b, 128 b, 136 b, 147 a, 153 a, 161 b, 203 b, 243 a, 255 b, 279 a, 338 b, 351 a, 354 b, 385 a, 401 b, 433 b; 495 a, 506 a, 511 b, 514 a, 520 a, 523 b, 529 a, 539 b, 544 b, 548 b, 555 b, 574 b, 575 a, 578 a, 583 a, 601 b. *esloyne* v. : *essoyne* 29 a. *joint* s., *point, appoint* 19 a, 53 a, 162 a, 519 a. *choice, rejoice, noise, poise* v., *voice* 39 a, 53 a, 78 a, 84 b, 119 a, 246 a, 401 b, 428 a; 474 b, 493 a, 497 b, 528 b, 541 b, 546 a, 586 b, 588 b.

POPE. *annoy, destroy; boy, employ, (en)joy, toy, Troy; void* 18, 62, 81, 100, 101, 109, 112, 132, 133, 174, 178, 199, 202, 204, 208, 220, 234, 257, 280, 295, 465, 473, 476, 493, 495. *oil, soil, spoil, toil; Boyle* n. pr. 74, 115, 154, 165, 216, 220, 247, 251, 262, 262, 263, 485. *choice, rejoice, noise, voice* 36, 133, 157, 301, 493. — Besides: *boy: Blois* n. pr. (F.) 316.

BYRON. *annoy, destroy; alloy, boy, rebuoy, cloy, decoy, employ, (en)joy, soy, toy, Troy, Godoy* n. pr.; *Lanskoi* n. pr.; *buoyant, void, Lloyd* 6 a, 15 a, 18 a (2 t.), 19 b, 20 a, 20 b, 21 a, 24 a, 29 b, 30 b, 34 b, 35 b, 36 b, 37 a, 37 b, 40 b, 42 a, 42 b, 46 a, 47 a, 51 a, 51 b (5 t.), 52 b, 55 b, 69 a, 105 b (4 t.), 122 a, 149 a, 151 a, 173 a, 183 b, 193 a, 203 a, 223 b, 235 b, 242 a, 244 a, 246 a, 249 b, 254 a, 256 a, 259 b, 260 b, 320 a, 341 b, 343 b, 345 b, 345 b, 346 a, 349 a, 350 a, 351 a, 356 a, 368 a, 537 b, 540 b, 540 b, 545 b, 548 b, 597 b, 600 a, 615 a, 632 a, 686 b, 688 b, 691 a, 693 a, 739 a, 741 a, 742 b, 749 b, 760 a, 761 a, 765 a, 813 b, 813 b. *destroys, joys : noise; choice, voice* 23 a, 43 a, 198 a, 689 b. *loyal(ty), royal(ty)* 145 a, 818 b. *boil, broil, coil* s., *recoil, foil, oil, soil, spoil, toil, turmoil, Hoyle* n. pr., *toilet* 21 b, 35 b, 86 b, 92 b, 116 b, 123 a, 134 b, 189 b, 200 b, 212 b, 247 a, 255 a, 267 b, 271 b, 273 a, 301 a, 304 b, 311 b, 312 a, 327 a, 337 a, 341 a, 342 b, 343 b, 350 b, 364 b, 541 b, 546 a, 680 b, 708 a, 712 b, 747 a, 814 b, 838 a. *coin, join* 148 b. *aroynt; joint* s., *point* 752 a, 802 a. *noise; toise; choice, rejoice, voice* 3 b, 10 b, 29 a, 35 a, 62 b, 77 b, 80 b, 84 a, 85 b, 119 b, 126 a, 133 b, 248 b, 259 b, 276 a, 316 a, 338 b, 347 a, 540 b, 541 a, 542 a, 542 a, 546 a, 613 a, 613 b, 617 a, 707 a, 740 b, 746 b, 788 a, 817 b. — Besides the French words *de Foix* n. pr., *quoi, sang-froid : annoy, destroy, boy, Troy* 697 b, 752 b, 813 a.

SWINBURNE. *Annoy, destroy; alloy, boy, cloy, coy, employ, joy(ous), toy, Troy; void* PB I: 92, 117, 179, 197; PB II:16; PB III:65; A 146, 225; SSP 17, 30, 31, 63; SS 8, 24, 34, 58; TB 62, 73, 126, 131; Ch 4, 71, 131, 171; L 4, 50, 122; MH 87, 92, 94; CR

59, 61; TL 16, 63, 136, 139, 141, 151, 249, 250, 251, 274, 331, 346, 347. *cloys, toys; noise, (equi)poise; rejoice, voice* PB I: 299; A 133; TL 222, 260. *(dis)loyal, royal* MH 165, 169; A 223; Ch 98; SBS 53, 54; TL 241. *assoil, boil, coil, recoil, foil, oil, soil, spoil, toil* PB I:308; PB II:11; PB III:48, 100; Ch 201; L 14, 60; MH 131; SS 25, 198; A 56; SBS 277; TL 50, 79. *joins : loins* PB I:307. *anoint, appoint, point* PB I:228; PB II:5; SBS 61. *choice, rejoice, voice* PB III:34; Ch 46, 95, 106, 127; SSp 19; SS 167, 191, 195, 197, 212; SN 16, 24; MH 53, 178, 182; A 43; SBS 56, 149; TL 141, 178, 304, 320, 358, 360. *moister : oyster* PB I:187.

Present E. ij : ij. 52

Rimes between words with the present E. spelling *ea, ei* have been regarded as correct rimes μɛ ɇ : μɛ ɇ; rimes between words with the present E. spelling *ee, ie, i* (*machine* etc.) have been regarded as correct rimes μɛ ɇ : μɛ ɇ. Of the rime-words with the present E. spelling *e*, the following have been regarded as μɛ ɇ-words: *these* (Ellis p. 905, Ekw. § 183); *even* a. (Spenser 455 b, see § 100; cf. Ekw. § 186 f.; Horn Gr. § 79,3); *Swede* (Pope : μɛ ɇ; no rimes : μɛ ɇ; cf. Ekw. § 196); *blaspheme* (Spenser : μɛ ɇ 272 b; cf. B. § 50; Ekw. §§ 194, 202 f.); *fle'me* (= phlegm; Pope: *extreme* 66; Gill gives μɛ ɇ); *scheme* (Pope : μɛ ɇ 264, 264, cf. Ekw. §§ 195, 206); *theme* (Spenser : μɛ ɇ 106 a, 207 a; Pope μɛ : ɇ 38, 275, 332; cf. B. § 50; Ekw. §§ 194, 202 f.); *obscene* (Pope : μɛ ɇ 380; cf. Ekw. § 195); *scene* (Pope : μɛ ɇ 252; cf. Ekw. §§ 195, 206); *serene* (Spenser : μɛ ɇ 395a; Pope : μɛ ɇ, no rimes: μɛ ɇ; cf. B. § 50; Ellis p. 1014); *Jesu* (Pope : μɛ ɇ 333; cf. Ellis p. 894; Ekw. § 196); *complete* (Pope : μɛ ɇ 319; cf. Ekw. §§ 194, 203);

the following as μɛ ɇ-words: *be, he, me, she, we, ye; eke* v. & a. (Spenser : μɛ ɇ 190 a, 305 a, 547 a; 24 b, 101 b, 211 b, 222 b; cf. B. § 45); *intervene* (Pope : μɛ ɇ; no rimes : μɛ ɇ; cf. Grundr. § 46); *Eve* (Pope : μɛ ɇ; no rimes : μɛ ɇ; cf. Ekw. § 197); *Peter : metre* (Pope 287, 310, 335; cf. Ekw. § 197).

extreme is rimed by Spenser : μɛ ɇ ~ μɛ ɇ (see § 53); by Pope only : μɛ ɇ (66, 198). — For *evil, even* s., see §§ 99, 100. — [Rimes to present E. weak-stressed vowel: *Persephone* : *me* Spenser 499 a; *teme* s. (= team): *diademe* Spenser 466 a; *obsolete* : *feet* Pope 308.]

53 SPENSER. A. Many rimes have been regarded as correct, on account of the existence of phonetic variants contrary to the spelling eventually adopted by the literary language. Cf. ten Br. § 25; Horn Gr. §§ 77-80. Spenser's spelling is very often in accordance with the rimes (cf. B. § 38 ff.).

μɛ ę̄ : μɛ ę̄. [OE ǣ = West Teut. ā (= æ²):] *read* s. & v. : μɛ ę̄; numerous cases; for FQ see B. § 39 ff.; further certain cases 531 b, 592 a, 598 b, 602 a. — [OE ǣ = Teut. ai (= æ¹); cf. Luick U. § 349 f.:] *deal* s. (cf. Dib. § 69) : μɛ ę̄ (steel) 529 a; generally rimed by Spenser : μɛ ę̄, cf. B. § 40; *mean* v. : μɛ ę̄ (been) 473 a, cf. Dib. § 64; *mean* a. : μɛ ę̄ (queen) 585 a; *clean* : μɛ ę̄, numerous cases; for FQ see B. § 40; further 511 b, 577 a; *sea* : μɛ ę̄ 139 a, 178 b, 433 b (?); generally rimed : μɛ ę̄, cf. B. § 40. — [OE ēa (noun) ⟩ OE ē (verb); later levellings in both directions; cf. B. §§ 41, 45; Luick U. § 351:] *steam* v. : μɛ ę̄ 74 a, 109 a, 161 b, 203 a, 392 b, 433 b (no rimes : μɛ ę̄); *team* s. : μɛ ę̄ 74 a, 206 b, 606 a. The legitimate vacillation μɛ ę̄ ~ μɛ ę̄ in these words may have called forth μɛ ę̄-variants of *dream* s. &. v. (*dream* s. : μɛ ę̄ 109 a, 237 b, 458 a; *dream* v. is rimed only : μɛ ę̄), *beam* s. & v. (: μɛ ę̄ 503 b, 554 b, 593 b), and *stream* s. & v. (: μɛ ę̄ 244 b, 551 b, 606 b), if the verbs *drēman, bēman, strēman* did not exist in OE.

μɛ ę̄ : μɛ ę̄. [æ²:] [*seed* s., with μɛ ę̄ only in rimes containing present E. e, 65 b, 166 b, 368 b (see §§ 100, 102);] *leech* s. : μɛ ę̄ 37 a, 330 b; *speech* s. : μɛ ę̄, numerous cases; for FQ see B. § 39; further 460 b, 494 b, 520 b. — Rimes μɛ ę̄ : μɛ ę̄ are probably also *cheek* : μɛ ę̄ 75 b, 589 b (cf. ten Br. l. c.); *needes* s. : *bedes* s. (= beads): *deedes* s. 60 b (*deed* has æ²; μɛ ę̄ is given by Butler, according to Horn Gr. § 80,1; *need* has [ę̄] ~ [ę̄] in Chaucer, cf. ten Br. l. c.).

extreme occurs with μɛ ę̄ (early loan) ~ μɛ ę̄ (late loan) (cf. B. § 58). Miège gives μɛ ę̄ (Ellis). Spenser uses the spelling *-ea-* in the rimes 202 b, 329 b, 596 a, of which at least 329 b is = μɛ ę̄ : μɛ ę̄; the spelling *-ee-* 120 b, 600 b, which are both = μɛ ę̄ : μɛ ę̄, as well as the rimes 109 a, 202 a, 203 a, 237 b, 274 a, 593 b. — As a rime μɛ ę̄ : μɛ ę̄ I have considered *Eirene* n. pr. : *clene* a. : *strene* (OE strēon) 341 a [*stremis* pres. sg. : *Themis* n. pr. 467 a (?)].

B. μɛ ę̄ : μɛ ę̄. Such rimes are probably the following. *wreake* v. : *weeke : seeke* 392 b. *keepe* : *sheepe* : *deepe* : *cheape* 416 b. — *meane* s. (Rom.) : *tene* s. : *atweene* : *bene* pp. 86 a. *mene* s. (Rom.) : *Queene* : *seene* 342 a. *keene* : *weene* : *mene* s. (Rom.) : *strene* (OE

-ēo-) 387 a. *increse* s. : *fleece* s. 515 b. *feet* : *intreat* v. 573 a. *conceiv'd* : *perceiv'd* : *berev'd* : *griev'd* 190 b.

POPE. A. ME ę̄ ~ ẹ̄ (see above, Spenser) : ɱɛ ẹ̄. *read* v. : 54
(in)deed, agreed, proceed 134, 290, 318, 320, 345 (: ɱɛ ę̄, none); *leave* : *Eve* 261 (: ɱɛ ę̄ 145, 217); *sea* : ɱɛ ẹ̄ 42, 154, 490, 500 (: ɱɛ ę̄ 104, 380, 443) [possibly also, cf. ten Br. § 23 δ, *flea* : *see* 412 (: ɱɛ ę̄, none)]; *mean* v. : ɱɛ ẹ̄ 477, 498 (: ɱɛ ę̄ 276, 330, 340, 444); *dream* v. : *seem* 54 (: ɱɛ ę̄ 109, 264, 332, 388, 392, 392, 446).

B. ME ę̄ : ɱɛ ẹ̄. *heap* : ɱɛ ẹ̄ 230, 323 (: ɱɛ ę̄, none); *steal* : *feel* 335 (: ɱɛ ę̄ 305, 317, 327, 498); *these* : *geese* 141 (: ɱɛ ę̄ 82, 85, 100, 102, 104, 133, etc.); *seat* : *Fleet* 251 (: ɱɛ ę̄ 19, 31, 36, 278, 444). *plead* v. : *need* 54 (: ɱɛ ę̄, none); *retreat* : *Fleet* 391 (: ɱɛ ę̄ 19, 19, 21, 31, 36, 105, etc.); *dean, mean* (Rom.) : ɱɛ ẹ̄ 242, 288, 486 (: ɱɛ ę̄ 252, 291, 340, 444, 444, 497); *ease* s., *please* : *degrees, decrees* 64, 130 (: ɱɛ ę̄, numerous, especially *please* : *ease;* besides 62, 82, 100, 102, 104, 133, etc.); *con-, de-, receive* : *believe, grieve* 101, 214, 482; : *Eve* 483, 483 (: ɱɛ ę̄ 180, 212, 217, 316). *scene* : ɱɛ ẹ̄ 24, 36, 36, 82, 82, 108, 260, 367, 443, 446, 453 477, 488 (: ɱɛ ę̄ 252); *complete* : *meet* 259; *serene* : *queen* 283, 454; *Swede* : *agreed* 222. *tea* : *decree* 483 (: *bohea* 453).

These rimes (A & B) — except possibly those to *read*, in which word [ī] is exceptionally recorded by several 17th c. orthoepists, cf. Horn Gr. § 80 — afford no ground for supposing that the ME vacillation [ę̄] ~ [ẹ̄] in the words of group A existed in Pope's pronunciation. Accordingly, the words of group A (except the doubtful *read*) are here considered as ɱɛ ę̄-words, and the rimes of these words : ɱɛ ẹ̄, as rimes ɱɛ ę̄ : ɱɛ ẹ̄.

For the sake of comparison I give here a short account of 55
the rimes ɱɛ ę̄ : ɱɛ ẹ̄ in Byron's CH and Swinburne's SBS. The rimes are not specified in detail; only the rime-words used and the number of the rimes are given.

BYRON, CH. *sea : be, she, me, thee, ye, flee, free, glee, wee, ee* (= eye), *degree* (17 cases). *read, lead, recede : bleed, feed, meed, need, reed, steed, weed, succeed* (5 cases). *leaf : brief, chief* (1 case). *peak, speak, weak, wreak : cheek, meek, seek, Greek, pique* (8 cases). *heal, steal, zeal, appeal, conceal, seal : feel steel* (6 cases). *beam, dream, stream, theme : deem, redeem, seem, teem* v. (11 cases). *clean, lean* v., *scene, serene : green, keen, queen, unseen, sheen* s., *between, mien, intervene; been* (6 cases). *heap, leap, reap : creep, deep, keep, peep, sleep, steep, sweep, weep* (10 cases). *peace* : *Greece*

(1 case). *seas* pl., *these, seize, (dis)ease* : *frees* & *foresees* pres., *trees* pl., *breeze, Pyrenees* (4 cases). *beat, heat, seat, repeat, retreat* : *feet, greet, meet* v., *street, sweet* (6 cases). *cleave, leaves* s. pl., *leave* v., *deceive, perceive* : *eve, Eve, believe, grieve* (6 cases).

SWINBURNE, SBS. *sea* : *be, he, she, we, me, thee, ye, free, lee* s., *tree* (39 cases). *breach, each, impeach, reach* : *speech, beseech* (7 cases). *lead, plead* : *need, deed, creed* (3 cases). *leaf, sheaf* : *grief, dis-, unbelief, chief* (5 cases). *healed, sealed, revealed* : *field, shield* (3 cases). *dream, stream* : *seem, redeem* (4 cases). *clean, lean* : *queen, (un)seen* (2 cases). *leap, reap* : *creep, deep, keep, sheep, sleep, steep, sweep, weep* (11 cases). *peace, de-, increase, release, (de)cease* : *Greece* (7 cases). *beast, east, least* : *priest* (7 cases). *seas* pl., *these* : *knees, trees* pl., *tree's* gen. sg., *sees* pres., *Pyrenees* (8 cases). *beat, bleat, eat, heat, meat, seat, wheat, defeat* : *feet, meet, street, sweet* (23 cases). *heave, weave, sheaves* pl., *leaves* pl., *deceive* : *believe, grieve* (2 cases) [Besides, not certain : *pæan* : *Eschylæan* 178, *Thebes* : *glebes* 209, *Crete* : *sweet* 245, *seen* : *Nazarene* 99].

56 **Present E. iə : iə.**

The rimes are given § 232 ff.

Present E. i : i.

The rimes, as a rule, present nothing of interest. For rimes to *wind* s., *been*, see § 251.

Present E. e : e.

The rimes to ME ę̄-words (*bread* etc., *red* etc.) are treated § 242 ff. — For rimes to *again* (*against* does not occur), *said, says, saith, any, many*, see § 250 f.

Present E. ei : ei.

57 SPENSER. A. μɛ ai : μɛ ā. [Rimes to weak-stressed vowels are included. — The rimes of FQ are taken from B.'s lists §§ 87, 149, 150, 151, 157.]

day, lay pret., *pray, say, sway, (a)way* : *Adicia, Aemilia, Cynthia, Hania, Menevia, Proserpina, Remora, Tedula* 134a, 174a,

264 b, 334 a, 493 b, 537 a, 538 a, 553 a. *abraid* (spelt *abrade* 218 b; cf. above § 36), *afraid, aid, arrayed, assayed, bewrayed, defrayed, dismayed* (spelt *-ade* 89 a), *embayed, laid, maid, played, displayed, prayed, stayed, swayed, upbraid, weighed* : *blade, fade, glade, invade made, persuade, shade, trade* 13 a, 30 a, 44 b, 44 b, 48 b, 71 b, 89 a, 99 b, 136 b, 142 b, 152 a, 162 a, 162 b, 178 a, 186 a, 212 b, 218 b, 223 a, 226 a, 239 b, 294 b, 314 b, 339 a, 384 a, 410 a, 434 b, 464 a, 478 b, 481 a, 494 b, 508 b, 536 a, 540 a, 554 a, 580 b. *assail, aumayl* (= to enamel), *entail, entrail* (= to twist etc.), *fail, flail* (spelt *-ale* 313 a), *mail, quail* v., *rail* v., *sail, tail* s., *trail* s., *avail, prevail* (both < OF valoir), *wail* : *bale* s., *embale* (spelt *-bayld* 94 b), *dale, empale, pale* a., *scale, tale, whale* 13 a, 47 b, 94 b, 147 b, 196 a, 313 a, 336 a, 353 b, 467 a, 481 a, 535 a. *aim* s. & v. : *fame, flame, frame, name, shame* 107 a, 161 a, 520 a, 602 a [B. § 87 suggests a variant *ame* < ME amen aimen (cf. *claim* below); yet the pronunciation ɛ: ai is made probable by the consistent spelling *ai* (*ay*) and by two rimes : ɛ: ai (*ordain, again, entertain, fain*) 249 b, 379 b]. *chain, complain, darraine* (see § 36), *disdain, gain, pain, plain, reign, remain, stain, strain, swain, -tain, train, twain, vain, vein* : *bane* s. (spelt *-ain-* 77 b), *profane, Crane, Africane, Gloriane, Louthiane, Satyrane* 7 a, 77 b, 131 a/b, 142 b, 172 b, 250 a, 254 b, 290 a, 332 a, 386 b, 387 a, 405 b, 447 a, 557 a, 579 a, 580 a, 594 a [Here belongs also *straine* v. : *became* 515 a, unless the rime is due to an alteration at the hands of the printer (for *straine* : *swaine* s.) cf. § 10]. *praise, raise* : *amaze, blaze, daze, gaze, Caligulas* 13 b, 68 b, 399 b, 413 b, 455 a, 460 b, 503 b, 526 a, 540 a, 573 a. *bait* (spelt *-a-* 422 b), *(a)wait* (spelt *-a-* 140 b, 241 a) : *abate, debate, date, forgate* pret., *gate* s., *grate, hate, late, mitigate, plate, prate, (e)state* 63 a, 115 b, 139 b, 140 b, 229 a, 241 a, 280 b, 316 b, 322 a, 335 a, 422 b, 460 b, 534 a [Here seems to belong also *bate* (= fed; see § 36) : *state* (= stately a.) 473 b]. *waves* s. : *glaives* s. 595 a.

Uncertain & irrelevant cases. *claim* is spelt *clame* and 58
rimed only : ɛ: ā (19 cases), which implies that Spenser had in view the ME variant with ɛ: ā arising from end-stressed forms of OF clame-r (cf. B. § 87; Luick U. § 367; E. St. 26, 270; NED claim : - - »4-7 *clayme, claime, clame* - -»). — *hail* v. (= hale, haul) is rimed : ɛ: ai 98 a, 203 b, 383 a, 428 b; : ɛ: ai & ɛ: ā 336 a; besides there are the rimes *availe* v. (: lower, descend, cf. just below) : *overhaile* 447 b; *tale* s. : *forhaile* (NED = »tear to pieces») 475 b.

The spelling *hale* is not found in the rimes; Spenser seems to have regarded the word as a ɹɛ ai-word (cf. B. § 78). — *avale* v. (= lower, descend; OF avaler) occurs with the spelling *-ai-* 165 b, 246 a, 447 b, and is rimed : ɹɛ ai in those cases (447 b see just above) and 448 a. The ɹɛ ai-forms may be due to confusion with *avail* < OF valoir. — *waist* s. appears only in the old form *wast(e)*. Not rimed : ɹɛ ai; : ɹɛ ā 141 a, 309 a; for other rimes cf. § 118. — *gait* does not occur; only *gate* : ɹɛ ā 50 b, 147 a, 205 b, 356 a, 518 b, 544 b.

B. & C. ME ę̄ : ɹɛ ā, & ME ę̄ : ɹɛ ai. No cases.

59 POPE. A. ɹɛ ai : ɹɛ ā. *aid, betrayed, delayed, laid, maid, obeyed, (un)paid, (-)played, strayed, con-, surveyed : brocade, jade, jade, made, masquerade, persuade, shade, spade, trade* 15, 17, 18, 27, 27, 31, 34, 52, 73, 79, 80, 82, 86, 91, 107, 122, 129, 134, 138, 150, 164, 165, 167, 172, 174, 180, 180, 211, 213, 213, 214, 241, 259, 260, 274, 288, 330, 388, 392, 394, 449, 453, 470, 475, 479. *assail, jail, jail, rail, sail, tail, avail, prevail, veil : dale, gale, Hale, exhale, pale, scale, tale, whale* 27, 39, 65, 77, 94, 104, 104, 107, 203, 212, 226, 241, 291, 322, 366, 374, 389, 390, 466. *ail them : Balaam* 287. *(de-, ex-, pro-, re-)claim, aim : blame, dame, fame, (in)flame, frame, game, name, same, shame* 44, 74, 102, 117, 117, 121, 131, 160, 161, 161, 169, 199, 203, 216, 226, 250, 254, 264, 276, 308, 339, 374, 378, 389, 451, 470, 483. *again, main, ordain, remain, swain, sustain, train : cane, Dane, fane, (-)lane, profane* 32, 32, 60, 84, 103, 120, 160, 326, 378, 473. *days, praise, rays, raise, surveys; waist : amaze, blaze, gaze, space, placed* 29, 80, 81, 84, 119, 119, 121, 158, 165, 167, 227, 232, 253, 378, 382, 417 [*conveys, plays : operas* 330, 384]. *freight, weight, (a)wait : fate, gate, state* 77, 91, 117, 158, 160, 183, 231, 310, 383, 385, 408.

B. ME ę̄ : ɹɛ ā. *break : make* 123. *great : state* 93, 117, 123, 133, 201, 234, etc.; *great : estate, fate, rate, sedate* 221, 297, 297, 364, 448, 451, 458, 459, 460, 460. — [Cf. *great : tête à tête* 444].]

C. ME ę̄ : ɹe ai. *great : eight* 479.

BYRON's and SWINBURNE's rimes present E. ei : ei present nothing of interest.

Present E. eə : eə.

60 SPENSER. A. ɹɛ air : ɹɛ ār. *affair, air, debonair, chair, despair, fair, hair, heir, lair* s. (spelt *lare* 270 b; cf. §37), *pair, impair, repair* v. (trans. & intr.), *stair : bare* a., *(for)bare* pret.,

care, dare, declare, fare, com-, prepare, rare, share, spare, square, three-square, stare, sware pret., *(a)ware* a. 21 a, 21 b, 22 b, 24 a, 26 a, 28 b, 29 b, 40 a, 43 a, 46 a, 47 b, 54 b, 107 b, 134 b, 135 b, 156 a, 165 a, 182 b, 193 a, 221 b, 245 b, 268 a, 268 b, 270 b, 279 b, 303 a, 311 b, 315 a, 342 a, 344 b, 349 a, 352 b, 368 a, 389 b, 424 b, 474 a, 490 b, 507 b, 521 a, 536 b, 545 a, 583 b, 589 b, 600 a, 603 b, 605 a, 606 a. Besides *chayre* (= chary) : *ayre* : *fayre* 187 a, cf. § 37.

Irrelevant cases. Beside the usual *com-, prepare* (always used in rimes : μɛ ār, generally also in rimes : μɛ ār & μɛ air) there occur in FQ the forms *com-, prepaire* (always used in rimes : μɛ air, in rimes : μɛ ār & μɛ air 28 b, 40 a) which probably represent a pronunciation with μɛ air, cf. B. § 87. Outside FQ, μɛ air-forms occur in the rimes *compaire* : μɛ air 494 b; *prepayre* : μɛ air 506 b, probably also in *fayre* a. : *compare* 455 a.

B. ME ę̄r : μɛ ār. *forbear, whilere, were* : *bare* a., *bare* pret., *care, fare, prepare, rare, spare,* 166 a, 255 b, 292 a, 382 a.

C. ME ę̄r : μɛ air. No certain cases. The rime *fare* : *whyleare* : *despair* : *rare* 57 b may be = μɛ ēr : μɛ ār : ME ę̄r (cf. the similar cases § 110), being based on a variant of *despair* with μɛ ēr, cf. § 110; B. § 157. *despaire* : *haire* : *were* : *where* 267 a is no doubt a rime μɛ ēr : ME ę̄r (= μɛ ēr); for *despaire* see just above; *haire* (= hair) stands for *heare,* which is Spenser's usual form (cf. § 32).

Pope. A. μɛ ai(r) : μɛ ār. *air* : *care* 28, 42, 45, 72, 163, 169, etc.; *fair* : *care* 14, 76, 77, 111, 122, 174, etc.; *air, chair, despair, fair, hair, heir, repair; mayor, player, prayer* : *bare* a., *care, declare, fare, glare, hare, mare, com-, prepare, rare, share, ensnare, spare, square, stare* 33, 33, 34, 74, 75, 77, 82, 84, 85, 99, 102, 106, 107, 128, 129, 137, 156, 171, 175, 184, 236, 237, 239, 243, 250, 252, 258, 262, 292, 294, 298, 302, 310, 314, 342, 380, 380, 383, 401, 414, 421, 444, 450, 451, 452, 465, 492, 495.

B. & C. ME ę̄r : μɛ ār and : μɛ ai(r). *bear* v. : *care* (*prepare*) 138, 167, 173, 173, 205, 275, etc.; *bear* s., *bear* v., *swear, there, were, where; Laguerre* n. pr. (261) : *care, dare, mare, rare, share, spare, square, stare, beware* 40, 63, 74, 78, 139, 158, 162, 196, 197, 209, 261, 276, 292, 318, 328, 329, 368, 416, 442, 469, 490, 496. — *stare* : *swear* : *air* 319. — *bear* s., *bear* v., *e'er, swear, there, wear, where* : *air, chair, despair, fair, hair, heir, repair, Stair* n. pr.; *prayer* 35, 84, 84, 86, 87, 104, 143, 146, 155, 165, 236, 260, 306, 314, 321, 326, 346, 369, 394, 400, 401, 414, 415, 477, 481, 485.

Byron's and Swinburne's rimes present E. eə : eə afford nothing of interest.

61 **Present E. æ : æ.**

There are no rimes of interest to be recorded.

Present E. aa : aa.

Present E. aa : s of different origin (early Mod. E. [ă] and [au] as in e. g. *after* and *laughter*) are not rimed together by Spenser and Pope. In Byron and Swinburne I have paid no attention to this kind of rime.

Present E. ɔɔ : ɔɔ.

62 **a.** Rimes to -ought & -aught.

According to B. § 190 f., *-ought* and *-aught* are rimed without any restriction in FQ. This is the case also in SPENSER'S other works, where the rimes are as follows.

-ought. *bought, brought, fought, ought* v., *sought, thought, wrought; (n)ought* pron. 471 a, 482 a, 490 b, 492 a, 496 a, 498 a, 501 b, 503 a, 511 b, 514 a, 515 b, 519 b, 523 a, 524 b, 525 b, 527 b, 539 b, 543 a, 543 b, 547 b, 551 a, 552 b, 555 b, 555 b, 556 a, 557 a, 561 a, 575 b, 582 a, 591 a, 595 a, 599 b, 600 a, 601 a, 601 b, 602 a, 604 b, 605 b. — -aught. *raught, taught* 517 a. — -ought : -aught. *brought, ought* v.; *thought, wrought* (spelt-*oht* 518 a) : *caught, fraught, taught* (spelt-*ought* 518 a) [*(n)ought* pron. ~ *(n)aught*] 475 a, 496 a, 518 a, 526 a, 541 b, 553 b, 583 b, 604 b.

In POPE, the rimes to *-ought, -aught* are distributed as follows.

-ought. *bought, brought, fought, ought* v., *thought, wrought; nought* pron. 81, 117, 171, 230, 240, 293, 315, 319, 333, 449, 481. — -aught. No cases. — -ought : -aught. *fought, sought, thought* : *caught, fraught, taught* 44, 58, 72, 238, 381, 459, 494. — Besides, there are rimes to *(de)fault* (cf. Koeppel p. 13) : *brought, ought, thought* 54, 60, 108, 131, 194, 268, 373, 419. — For the rimes *thought* : *groat* (3 cases) see § 65.

BYRON'S and SWINBURNE'S rimes (very frequent) have not been collected.

63 **b.** ME ăl(c).

SPENSER. 1) Rom. ăl : Teut. ăl (cf. B. § 183). *appall* : *all, call, (be)fall*, etc. 47 b, 90 a, 96 b, etc. *call* s. (= caul, F. cale) : *all* : *pall* : *appall* 54 a. *enstall* : *all* etc. 598 b, 600 a. *spalles* : *walles* :

falles 109 a. *mall* s. & v. (cf. NED) : *all, call, fall, thrall* 49 a, 257 a, 348 b. [Rimes to weak-stressed-*al* not recorded; cf. B. l. c.]

2) ME aul(c) : ME ăl(c). *ball* v. (= *bawl*) : *call* 474 b. *crall* v. (= crawl) : *all, small* (*Artegall, terrestriall*) 14 a, 171 b, 217 b. *exault* : *assault* : *fault* : *hault* pp. (of haul, hale) 140 b.

POPE rimes ME ăl(c) of different origins unhesitatingly with each other and with ME au; and so do, of course, also BYRON and SWINBURNE.

c. ME ŏ | f(t), s(c), th. 64

To the words of this group there are very few correct rime-words extant outside the group (cf. e. g. Walker, Rhyming Dict.). I have not found any cases of this kind among the rimes of SPENSER and POPE; in the rimes of BYRON and SWINBURNE I have not looked for such cases.

d. broad, abroad. 65

SPENSER. *abroad : fraud* s. 460 b. — POPE. *abroad* : *catter-waw'd, unthaw'd* 147, 291. — BYRON. *fraud : broad* 684 a.

SWINBURNE'S rimes not recorded.

e. groat.

SPENSER. No cases. — POPE. *groat : thought* 255, 335, 442; *groat : fault* 442.

BYRON'S and SWINBURNE'S rimes not recorded.

f. Walker a³ (με wăr(c) & με au) : o¹ & o³(με ŏr(c)). 66

SPENSER. No cases (cf. rimes με ăr^c : με ŏr^c § 122).

POPE. *war* : *abhor* 397, 469. *warm* : *form* (o³) 309, 482.

BYRON. *Minotaur* : *wore* : *more* 667 a; *Tauris* : *bore his* 770 a. — *heretofore* : *swore* : *war* 159 b; *Thor* : *or* : *war* 620 b. — *warm* : *storm* 381 b (rime?); *warm* : *form* (o³), *reform, storm* 6 a, 28 b, 58 a, 145 b, 226 b, 333 a, 794 a; *warning* : *morning, scorning* 52 a, 715 a; *warp us* : *Corpus* (Lat.) 800 b.

SWINBURNE. *ward* : *sword, deplored, restored* L 122, A 153. — *warder* : *border, order* SS 180, TL 239. *aswarm, warm* : (-)*form* (o³), *storm* PB I : 96; SS 80, 156; SBS 144, 208; TL 281, 291. *warn* : *horn, scorn* PB III : 33; MH 169. *warning* : *morning, scorning* PB II : 6, 7, 78, 97, 185; E 11, 105; MH 77; SBS 118, 177; TL 236, 347, 358. — *ward(er)* : *afford, ford, horde, sword, hoarder* : *cord, lord, abhorred, border, order* PB III : 181; TL 237; L 42; MH 147. *mourning* : *warning* : *scorning* : *morning* A 187. — *warning* : *dawning* : *morning* PB I : 173.

g. Walker o¹ & o³, rimed together. 67

1. Walker $o^1r <$ ME $\bar{o}|r$; and pour. [Inflected forms included.]

SPENSER. *door* (spelt *-ore*), *floor* (spelt *-ore*), *swore* pret., are rimed in the cases given by B. § 110 (i. e. all rimes to *floor*, *swore*, not all — probably complete up to p. 222 — to *door*) with the following μs $\bar{o}$r-words : *adore*, *bore* pret., *afore*, *before*, *therefore*, *gore*, *lore* s., *forlore* pp., *ever-*, *nathemore*, *restore*, *uproar*, *shore*, *sore*, *store*, *forswore* pp. (76 b), *tore* pp., *yore* 9 b, 16 a, 37 b, 52 a, 53 b, 63 a, 76 b, 114 b, 115 a, 121 a, 132 b, 143 b, 170 b, 186 b, 205 b, 220 b, 224 a, 256 b, 265 b, 302 a, 330 a, 363 b, 370 b, 396 a. In Spenser's other works I have found only *door*, *floor* (both spelt *-ore*) : *shore*, *store*, *yore* 475 a, 606 b (and *dore* : *flore* 460 b). — *pour'd* : *Lord* : *accord* 262 a.

POPE. *door*, *floor*, *swore* : *bore* pret., *before*, *more*, *o'er*, *roar*, *shore*, *store*, *tore* pret., *yore* 108, 122, 137, 142, 151, 152, 247, 251, 253, 258, 273, 319, 321, 327, 333, 416, 482 [Besides *door*(*s*) : *floor*(*s*) 445 445]. *pour* is not rimed with Walker's o^1 & o^3.

BYRON. (Only rimes to *pour* recorded :)

pour : *door*; *adore*, *boar*, *before*, *gore*, *more*, *deplore*, *restore*, *roar*, *shore* 22 a, 27 b, 58 b, 99 b, 138 a, 285 a, 309 b, 323 b, 350 b, 356 b, 357 a, 376 a, 671 a, 690 a. *poured* : *horde*, *sword*, (*undeplored*) 99 b, 226 a; *poured* : *hoard*, (*adored*) : *lord* 242 a, 340 a, 541 a.

SWINBURNE'S rimes not recorded.

68 2. Walker $o^3r <$ ME ŏr [Inflected forms included].

SPENSER (cf. B. § 108). *abhor* (spelt *-ore*) : *before*, *engore*, *forlore* a., *lore* s., *more*, *sore* 39 a, 62 b, 205 a. *abhorred* (spelt *-ord*) : *accord*, *lord* 25 a, 82 b, 319 a, 467 b, 577 b. *accord* : *abhord* : *Lord* : *sword* 89 b. *Lord* : *adord* : *abhord* 23 a. *ror'd* : *abhor'd* : *begor'd* 285 b.

POPE. *abhor* : *more* 297.

BYRON. *abhor*, *for*, *or* : *before*, *more*, *roar*, *score*, *shore*, *restore*, *tore* pret., *wore* pret., (*metaphor,*) *story*; *door* 67 a, 230 a, 654 a, 681 b, 724 b, 746 a, 761 b, 764 b, 770 a, 797 a.

In Byron's time μs ŏr is quite equivalent to μs $ŏr^c$ (cf. § 295), so that the inflected forms of *abhor* (i. e. *abhorred*) are given § 71.

SWINBURNE'S rimes have not been collected. In SBS there are none.

69 3. Walker o^1r^c & o^3r^c [Rimes between inflected forms of

words with Walker o^1|r (final) = ME $\bar{o}$ | r (final) have not been recorded.]

[*a.* = $o^1 : o^1$; *b.* = $o^3 : o^3$; *c.* = $o^1 : o^3$. The words in which Walker gives $o^1 \sim o^3$ (cf. § 290) have been treated here as such. *Consort* v. has also been considered an $o^1 \sim o^3$-word on the analogy of *sort, resort. form* does not occur with the signification of »seat» (Walker o^1), and is consequently treated here as an o^3-word.]

SPENSER (cf. B. § 112 ff. The lists are meant to be complete, possibly with the exception of the rimes *born(e)* : *(for)lorn*, B. § 115).

-rd. *a. goord* : *foord* 506 a. *(a)board, afford, ford, sword* 108 a, 121 a, 140 a, 311 a, 505 a, 528 a. *b. chord, cord, accord, record* s. & v., *lord, border, (dis)order* 9 a, 33 a, 92 b, 372 a, 397 a, 400 a, 420 a, 430 a, 533 b. *c. board* v., *afford, sword* : *adored, scored, restored* : *accord* 125 a, 231 a; *aboard, board* s. & v., *afford, ford, Waterford, hoard* v., *sword* : *accord, lord* 87 a, 111 a, 289 b, 334 a, 375 b, 376 a, 380 a, 500 a, 515 b, 606 b; *bored, adored, gored, restored* : *accord, record, lord* 228 a, 365 b, 530 a, 530 b.

-rm (: rn). *b. form, deform, inform, perform, transform, storm, adorn* (125, 147, 530, 561) 76 a, 125 a, 147 b, 204 b, 530 b, 561 a. *c. storme* : *torne* : *forlorne* : *borne* 350 b.

-rn. *a. mourn* s. & v. : *forlorn* 446 b, 553 b; *borne, sworn, torn, (-)worn, (for)lorn, unshorn* 27 a, 42 a, 291 b, 454 a, 529 b, 530 b, 543 a. *b. born, corn, adorn, horn, morn, suborn, scorn; forlorn, shorn* 35 a, 91 a/b, 114 a, 150 b, 152 a, 177 a, 179 a, 187 a, 188 a, 190 a, 275 a, 369 a, 372 a, 375 b, 447 a, 448 b, 490 a, 491 b, 494 a, 496 b, 498 a, 499 a, 500 a, 502 a, 514 a, 515 a, 520 b, 520 b, 524 b, 533 a, 537 b, 551 b, 552 a, 582 a, 587 a, 587 a, 594 a, 597 b. *c. mourn* : *born, scorn; forlorn* 173 a, 454 a; *mourn* : *borne, torn; forlorn* : *morn, scorn* 298 b, 336 b, 399 a; *borne, beforne, sworn, torn, worn; forlorn, shorn* : *born, adorn, horn, morn, scorn, thorn* 44 b, 89 b, 135 a, 217 a, 269 a, 295 b, 320 b, 335 a, 353 a, 389 b, 454 a, 460 a, 513 a, 577 a, 586 a, 600 b.

-rs. *a. course, discourse, recourse, source* 264 b, 363 a, 373 a, 415 b, 467 a, 520 a; *course, discourse, recourse, source* : *corse* (spelt *corpse* 482, cf. Walker), *force, perforce; remorse, scorse* (402) 108 a, 144 b, 300 a, 302 b, 398 a, 402 a, 481 b, 482 a; *corse, divorce, (en-, per-) force, scorse* (131); *remorse* 14 a, 23 a, 27 a, 45 a, 89 a, 97 a, 104 b, 131 a, 251 a, 342 a, 343 b, 509 b, 530 b, 601 b.

b. horse, remorse 197 a. *c. corse, (per)force, scorse* (207); *remorse* : *horse* 198 a, 207 b, 309 a, 335 b, 355 a, 364 b.

-rt. *a. court* : *port, report, resort, sport* 394 b, 408 a; *fort, port, report, support, sort, consort* v. (416, 427), *resort, sport, disport* (*effort, purport, consort* s.) 31 a, 88 a, 94 b, 146 b, 146 b, 160 a, 161 a, 252 b, 281 b, 297 a, 358 a, 407 a, 416 b, 427 b, 499 b, 523 b, 574 b. *b. exhort, short, consort* v. (270), *distort, tort* (*comfort, effort*) 103 b, 270 b, 358 b. *c. Corte* (= court) : *torte* s. 523 a; *fort, port, report, sort, resort, sport* (*effort, consort* s.) : *short, tort* s., *distort, extort* 74 a, 141 a, 164 a, 222 b, 232 b, 292 b, 300 b, 428 b, 491 b [*sort* : *consort* s. : *comfort* 105 a; *sports* : *recomforts* 520 a].

70 POPE.

-rd. *a. board, afford, sword; adored, gored, stored, restored* 85, 90, 93, 168, 213, 251, 293, 309, 395. *b. accord, record, lord* 320, 322, 474. *c. (a)board* : *lord* 60, 79, 135, 136, 281, 299, etc.; *(a)board, afford, sword, adored, explored, stored* : *lord* 71, 129, 227, 255, 260, 294, 313, 322, 344, 452.

-rm. *b. form, reform, perform, storm* 197, 305, 400.

-rn. *a. mourn; borne, torn, worn; forlorn* 20, 150, 164, 408, 452. *b. (un)born, corn, adorn, horn, morn, scorn, thorn* 20, 27, 28, 28, 29, 31, 101, 115, 158, 167, 171, 311, 383, 395, 396, 418, 471, 496. *c. mourn; borne, torn, worn* : *born, corn, adorn, scorn, thorn* 22, 23, 31, 91, 99, 105, 155, 170, 237, 405, 447.

-rs. *a. course, discourse, force; remorse* 54, 124, 147, 197, 380. *c. course, discourse, force, coarse* : *horse* 52, 286, 295, 314, 453, 494, 497.

-rt. *a. court; fort, port, report, support, transport, sort, resort, sport* 57, 78, 165, 167, 309, 311, 331, 332, 332, 337, 375, 401, 403, 410, 414, 421, 444, 445, 477, 500. *c. court, support* : *short* 274, 288, 441, 442 [*court* : *effort* 319].

71 BYRON.

-rd. *a. board* s., *hoard, horde, sword; adored, bored, gored, implored, stored* 23 b, 84 a, 168 b, 170 a, 265 b, 312 b, 336 a, 338 a, 642 a, 655 b, 803 b, 808 a. *b. abhorred, accord, chord, lord; border, order* 12 a, 72 a, 75 b, 135 b, 144 a, 303 a, 540 b, 607 a, 633 b, 734 a. *c. afford, board* s., *hoard, horde, sword; adored, bored, gored, implored, restored, stored* : *abhorred, accord, record, (-)chord, lord* 19 b, 31 a, 56 b, 71 b, 79 a, 79 b, 82 b, 93 a, 94 b, 108 b, 154 a, 158 b, 158 b, 163 a, 168 a, 179 a, 192 a, 201 a, 206 a, 222 a, 250 b, 286 b,

293 a, 295 a, 296 b, 300 a, 332 a, 334 a, 357 a, 365 a, 374 a, 374 b, 375 b, 546 b, 548 a, 641 b, 683 b, 727 a, 761 a, 771 b, 789 b. — Besides *Gordon* : *sword on* 101 b.

-rm. *b. form, deform, reform, storm* 17 a, 18 a, 18 b, 19 a, 32 b, 41 a, 41 b, 68 a, 74 b, 171 a, 242 a, 243 b, 285 a, 302 b, 345 a, 346 a, 714 a [*storm* : *uniform* 736 a]. — Besides *uniform* : *storm* : *Cairn Gorme* 759 b.

-rn. *a. mourn, borne, torn, sworn, worn; forlorn, shorn* 4 b, 22 b, 42 a, 95 a, 173 b, 207 b, 237 a, 252 b, 261 a, 265 b, 302 a, 316 a, 324 a, 701 a, 737 a. *b. adorn, born, corn, horn, morn, scorn (Leghorn); corner, Horner* n. pr.; *forlorn* 16 b, 18 a, 22 b, 37 a, 37 b, 42 b, 70 b, 117 a, 140 b, 154 a, 171 b, 216 b, 226 b, 307 b, 311 a, 381 b, 548 b, 549 b, 652 b, 698 b, 748 a, 781 b. *c. mourn, borne, sworn, torn, (-)worn; (-)shorn* : *adorn, born, horn* (& *Horn* n. pr.), *morn, thorn, scorn(er), corner, hornet* 40 b, 64 b, 66 a, 73 a, 139 a, 144 b, 186 a, 186 a, 186 a, 201 b, 225 a, 229 b, 251 a, 256 b, 282 a, 302 a, 308 a, 314 b, 315 b, 322 b, 337 b, 347 b, 349 a, 359 b, 365 b, 674 b, 686 b, 726 b, 773 a, 802 b, 831 b, 834 a.

-rs. *a. corse, course, recourse, (per)force, source, resource, divorce; remorse* 3 a, 6 a, 14 a, 18 b, 20 a, 33 a, 34 a, 45 a, 47 b, 96 b, 231 a, 252 b, 255 b, 265 a, 267 a, 269 a, 274 a, 282 a, 290 a, 294 a, 304 a, 311 a, 318 b, 357 a, 381 b, 618 a, 646 b, 650b, 692 b, 714 b, 728 a, 743 a, 792 a, 823 b. *b. morsel* : *a horse ill* 667 b. *c. coarse, corse, course, force, source, resource* : *horse* 22 b, 31 b, 97 b, 187 a, 251 a, 307 b, 332 a, 377 a, 628 a, 706 a, 834 b.

-rt. *a. court, fort* s., *port, import, report, sport; forte* (F.; = $o^3 \sim o^1$? Dictionaries differ.), *sort, resort* 12 a, 32 a, 33 b, 45 b, 127 b, 136 a, 173 b, 197 a, 282 b, 332 b, 370 b, 705 a, 715 b, 767 b, 808 b. *b. retort, short, shorten, shorter, forty, fortune, importune, torture; forte* (F.; = $o^3 \sim o^1$?) 105 b, 620 b, 649 a, 704 b, 764 a. Besides, *sort* : *short* : »*all amort*» 728 b. *c. court, port* s., *report, support, transport, sport; forte* (F.; = $o^3 \sim o^1$?), *sort, resort* : *short, retort, forty* 4 b, 15 b, 272 b, 272 b, 286 a, 655 b, 689 a, 718 a, 721 b, 733 b, 738 b, 804 a, 818 b.

-rth. *c. forth* : *north* 47 a, 117 a, 139 b.

b. (dis)gorge : *George* 72 a, 108 b. *c. torch* : *porch* 253 b, 267 b, 280 b, 300 b, 607 a. *c. abortions* : *portions* : *distortions* 746 b.

As an illustration of SWINBURNE's usage I give the rimes 72 occuring in SBS and TL.

b. absorb, disorb TL 117.

-rd. *a. poured, board, sword* SBS 161; TL 145. *b. abhorred, accord, record, lord* SBS 215; TL 117, 152, 229. *c. poured : lord* SBS 138; TL 89. *Ford* n. pr. (TL 284), *horde, sword, adored, roared, restored : abhorred, chord, lord* SBS 31, 90, 115, 116, 124, 135, 144, 189, 221; TL 18, 20, 120, 127, 129, 145, 174, 178, 181, 224, 284.

-rm. *b. deform, storm* SBS 114; TL 95 [*multiform : storm* TL 14].

-rn. *a. mourn, forlorn* TL 135. *b. born, corn, horn, morn, scorn, thorn; forlorn* SBS 3, 27, 98, 140, 142, 154, 154, 159, 163, 198, 223, 236, 236; TL 16, 23, 26, 48, 60, 67, 76, 98, 115, 134, 206, 230, 308, 350. *c. mourn, borne, forsworn, torn, worn : born, corn, morn, scorn* SBS 201, 242, 275; TL 49, 107, 107, 196, 217, 271, 290, 325.

-rs. *a. course, force, source* SBS 73, 82, 121.

-rt. *c. portal, mortal* TL 184.

-rth. *c. forth : north* SBS 186, 241; TL 102, 117, 131, 155, 157, 211.

-rge. *b. gorge* s., *George* TL 272.

73 **Present E. ou : ou.**

a. Rimes to ME ŏl(c) & ōlc.

1) ME ŏl(c) & ME ōlc rimed together (Rom. words : Teut. words).

SPENSER. *enrolled* (spelt *-old, -oll'd*), *controlled* (spelt *comptrold*), *mould* (< OF; spelt *-old* 240, 418, 547) : *bold, cold, en-, unfold, mani-* (etc.) *-fold, hold* s. & v., *old, told, yold* pp.; *gold* 21 b, 27 b, 46 a, 46 a, 82 b, 97 a, 112 a, 116 b, 132 a, 147 b, 165 b, 167 a, 176 b, 182 b, 211 a, 240 a, 327 b, 340 b, 418 b, 431 b, 432 b, 507 a, 547 a, 551 a, 555 b [*mould* (Teut.?) : *behold* 548 a, 581 a].

POPE. *roll : bowl* (Teut.) 290. — *mould, (en)rolled : behold, old, (un)told; gold* 34, 38, 72, 115, 123, 156, 158, 170, 264, 264, 405.

2) ME ŏl(c) (ōlc no cases) : ME ou.

SPENSER. *rowle* v. : *sowle* (= soul) 266 a.

POPE. *roll* s. & v. : *soul* 73, 86, 110, 110, 111, 155, etc.

3) ME ŏl(c) (ōlc no cases) : ME ǭ (: ME ou).

SPENSER. *rolls* s. : *scrolls* (ME scrowe + l; Skeat Et. D.) : *holes* 131 a. — *folke : cloke* v. 449 b.

POPE. *(en)roll* : *pole* 39, 111, 123, 154, 170, 302, etc. *(en)roll, control* : *hole, pole, shoal, stole* pret., *whole* 44, 199, 209, 369, 376, 410. *toll* : *vole* 331. *folks* : *jokes* 255, 444.

BYRON'S and SWINBURN'S rimes of this kind have not been collected.

b. ME ou : ME ǭ. 74

SPENSER (cf. B. § 191).

ME ou : ME ǭ. *blow* v. (OE āw), *bow* s., (-)*flow, grow, know, (be)low, row* s., *show, (for)slow* (spelt - *oe* 465), *snow* : *foe, fro,* (-)*go, ago, ygo, lo, moe*(OE mā), *so, throe* (spelt - *ow* 536), *woe* 31 b, 33 b, 52 b, 181 a, 222 b, 253 b, 294 a, 333 b, 349 b, 352 a 363 b, 409 a, 413 a, 455 b, 459 b, 461 b, 464 b, 464 b, 465 b, 467 a, 474 b, 474 b, 519 b, 536 b, 553 a, 596 b [*blow* v. (OE āw) : *Braggadochio* 92 b]. *overgrown, known, own* a., *(thrown)* : *alone, groan* v. 459 a, 471 b, 543 a, 557 a. *showes* s. : *woes* : *foes* 595 b. — Cf. *row* v. : *blow* (OE ōw) : *show* : *Jove* 107 a (and the rimes *wroth*: ME ǭ : ME ou 194 b, 286 b; § 128).

The rimes ME ǭ : *throw* s. (spelt - *o*, - *oe* 335, 419, 536) and possibly : *throw* v. (spelt - *oe* 50, 97) may be meant as rimes ME ǭ : ME ǭ, as there is an old ME ǭ - variant at least of *throw* s. (cf. B. l. c.; CD). The rimes are as follows : *(over)throw* s.: *foe, go, ygo, so, tho* adv. 298 b, 335 b, 419 b, 536 b; *throw* v. : *foe, go, so, woe* (*also*) 50 b, 97 b, 131 b, 311 b, 312 a; *overthrowne*: *grone* inf. 528 a; *throw'th*: *loth* a. : *go'th* 368 a.

POPE. 75

blow s., *blow* v. (OE āw), *bow, flow, glow, grow, know, (be)low, owe, row* s., *Rowe* n. pr., *show, slow, bestow,* (-)*throw* (205, 227) : *De Foe, foe,* (-)*go, ago, Po* n.pr., *Soho* n.pr., *woe; poet; à propos* (444, 481), *beau* (72, 73, 483) 15, 42, 51, 55, 60, 63, 65, 72, 73, 82, 84, 87, 91, 91, 93, 99, 101, 103, 105, 107, 111, 129, 133, 143, 149, 149, 152, 160, 170, 177, 181, 182, 198, 205, 213, 214, 218, 227, 227, 243, 246, 274, 279, 312, 315, 316, 328, 330, 340, 341, 382, 388, 444, 445, 463, 472, 479, 481, 483, 496, 498, 502. — *bestow'd* : *load* 314. *soul* : *whole* 51, 194, 199, 202, 203, 204, etc. *soul* : *goal, hole, pole, stole* pret. 106, 150, 225, 230, 297, 309, 323, 333, 399, 487. *blown* (OE āw) , (-)*grown, (un)known, own* a., *(dis)own, shown, thrown* (157, 298) : *alone, atone, bone, groan, hone* s., *(be)moan, postpone, stone, tone, throne, zone* 23, 23, 34, 37, 39, 43, 45, 76, 85, 102, 105, 121, 122, 122, 139, 157, 169, 169, 171, 197, 206, 212, 218, 241, 241, 253, 253, 283, 298, 298, 302,

303, 316, 323, 370, 406, 408, 411, 415, 457, 471, 495, 495, 497; *(un)known* : *alone* 43, 194, 209, 225, 233, 396, 409, etc.; *own* a.: *throne* 158, 163, 282, 283, 342, 376, etc. [*known, own, shown* : *Addison, Calydon* 169, 264, 382]. — *blows* s. pl., *blows* pres. (OE āw), *(-)flows, glows, grows, knows, owes, rows* s. pl., *bestowes, (-)throws* (108, 313) : *nose, ex-, repose, (a)rose* pret., *those, woes, beaux* (85, 473) 85, 87, 108, 110, 145, 152, 180, 182, 209, 224, 253, 313, 385, 473, 492.

76 As an illustration of BYRON's and SWINBURNE's usage I give the rime-words used in the rimes of this kind in CH and SBS, and the number of these rimes.

BYRON, CH. *blow, flow, glow, grow, know, (be)low, mow, show, snow* : *foe, fro, go, lo, moe, woe* (24 cases). *o'erflowed, stowed load, road* (1 case). *blown, grown, unknown, own, shown, - thrown* : *alone, bone, groan, prone, stone, tone, throne, zone* (9 cases). *flows, glows, grows, knows, shows, bestows, throws* : *disclose, foes, repose, rose* s., *rose* pret., *those, throes, woes* (7 cases).

SWINBURNE, SBS. *blow* s. & v., *flow, glow, grów, know, low, row* s., *show, snow, sow* : *fro, go, ago, lo, so, throe, woe, poet* (12 cases). *flown, (un)grown, known, own* a., *thrown* : *alone, bone, stone, tone, throne* (8 cases). *blow* s., *flows, know* s., *row* s., *snows: close, goes, rose* s., *rose* pret. (4 cases). *growth* : *loth* a. (1 case).

77 **Present E. ɔ : ɔ.**

μɛ wă : μɛ ŏ.

SPENSER. No cases.

POPE. *what* : *not* 340.

BYRON. *wander : ponder* 12 a, 25 b, 29 a, 312 b. *Suwarrow : sorrow* 737 b [cf. *moral* : *coral* : *laurel* 648 b].

SWINBURNE. *swallow* s., *swallow* v., *wallow* : *Apollo, follow, hollow* PB I : 61 (3 times), 62 (5 times), 63 (2 times), 112, 195; PB II : 2, 4, 5, 148, 168; MH 72; L 46, 47; A 212; SSp 106; SS 73, 166; CR3; SBS 54, 58, 79, 132, 137; TL 199, 237. *wand* : *beyond* SS 82. *wander* : *squander* : *yonder* SS 181 [cf. *laurel* : *sorrel* PB II : 71].

78 **Present E. uw : uw; uə : uə.**

a. ME ęu ęu, ū, rimed together.

SPENSER. According to B. § 168, ME ęu, ęu, ū are rimed indiscriminately together in FQ. This is so in Spenser's other

works as well; as an illustration I give the rimes ME ęu : ME ęu, ẹu, ū.

ME ęu : ME ęu. *ewe* s. : *shewe* inf. 452 b.

ME ęu : ME ẹu, ū. *dew, bedew, few, rew* s. (=row), *shew* inf., *shewed* (520, 555), *strewed* (597), *thewed* (OE þēaw; 597) : *hue* s. (OE hēow), *anew, renew, true, grew, threw, drew* pret. (analogical); *embue, crew* s. (OF crue), *due, endue* (=endow), *mue* v. (OF muer), *ensue, persue, view* (all spelt - *ew,-ewe*) 450 a, 485 a, 499 b, 503 a (7 times), 514 a, 520 b, 540 a, 553 b, 555 b, 556 b, 561 b, 579 b, 580 b, 596 b, 597 b, 599 b, 601 a, 606 a, 606 b. — Equivalent to these are the rimes *beautie* : *dewtie* 582 a, 596 a, 602 a (*beauty* has με ęu, cf. Luick, Anglia 14, 293).

POPE'S, BYRON'S, and SWINBURNE'S rimes, being of no interest, are not recorded here.

b. you, youth, choose, your(s). 79

SPENSER. *you* and *youth* (cf. Luick, Anglia 14, 291; B § 131 f.) are treated as ME ẹu, ū-words by Spenser. Rimes. *you* : *hue, (a)new, renew, rue* v., *askew, true; knew, threw; embrue, crew* s., *accrue, due, endue* v., *subdue, (en)sue, pursue, view* 8 b, 9 b, 32 b, 83 a, 278 b, 312 a, 331 a, 365 b, 397 a, 435 a, 435 b, 461 a, 528 b, 573 b, 581 a, 584 b, 585 a, 589 b. — *youth* : *ruth, truth, ensueth* 17 a, 39 b, 91 b, 113 b, 138 a, 292 a, 449 a.

Besides *choose* (*loose* a. : *choose* : *loose* v. (= lose) 135 b) and *chose* (with με ǭ, cf. § 137), Spenser uses the common ME and early Mod. E. inf. *chuse* (cf. Luick l. c.,; B. § 171) : *abuse* v., *infuse, refuse* v., *muse* s., *use* 87 a, 108 a, 116 a, 155 b, 521 a, 535 a.

your(s) is rimed only with με ū, see § 143.

POPE. *you* : *dew, bedew, shrew; new; true; knew, drew, flew; adieu, crew, due, subdue, pursue, view; Alpeu, Kew* 18, 95, 101, 101, 102, 107, 109, 110, 139, 141, 175, 175, 243, 246, 443, 449, 452, 453, 464, 478, 479, 480, 483, 485, 487, 490, 493; *you* : *do, too, two* 142, 320, 340, 344, 443, 452, 462. *youth* : *truth* 311, 366, 456, 458, 493, 494; *youth* : *tooth* 478. *choose* : *dues, muse* s. 99, 132, 155. *yours* : *endures* 345.

BYRON'S and SWINBURNE'S rimes not recorded.

c. ME ęu, ẹu, ū : ME ǭ. 80

SPENSER. *use* : *abuse* : *bruse* (= *bruise*) : *loose* v. 395 b. — Uncertain are *Peru* : *trew* a. : *vew* v. 79 a; *Meriflure* n. pr. : *allure*

553 a. — *feud* seems to have only μɛ ọ̄ in Spenser; the rimes are *food* : *mood* 50 a (and *food* : *feood* : *blood* : *brood* 232 b), cf. B. § 168.

POPE. *true* : *too* 50, 64, 129, 215, 220, 456, etc.; *new, news, true; grew, knew; crew, due, pursue, view* : (-)*do, to, too, two; shoes* 33, 62, 63, 63, 106, 123, 147, 149, 150, 150, 179, 207, 210, 223, 230, 233, 253, 276, 298, 299, 303, 308, 325, 329, 413, 415 [Equivalent are (*a*)*new, view* : *through* (,*too*) 119, 273, 298, 476; *true* : *billet-doux* 74]. *rule* : *fool* 52, 55, 56, 62, 131, 201, 204, etc.; *rule* : *cool, school, tool* 148, 243, 291, 310, 336, 344, 409, 420, 483 [*ridicules* : *fools* 239, 316]. *fume, consume, presume* : *bloom, groom, room* 370, 478, 495 [*blooms* : *perfumes* s. 109]. *use* : *goose* 209. *muse* s. : *use* : *lose* 86, 475. *fruit* : *root, shoot; do't* 193, 291, 463. *cure, endure, secure, sure* : *poor* 124, 255, 296, 311, 331. *monsieur* : *tó her* 183.

BYRON's and SWINBURNE's rimes not recorded.

81 **Present E. u : u.**

For rimes to *could, should, would* see § 324. — As to rimes ME ọ̄ : ME ŭ = present E. u : u, they cannot be numerous, as both these present E. u-groups are rather small and as the words generally disagree in their endings. — In SPENSER I have found no cases; in POPE only one, *foot* : *put* 497. I have not looked for rimes of this kind in BYRON and SWINBURNE.

Present E. au(ə) : au(ə).

There are no rimes of interest to be recorded.

Present E. ɐ : ɐ.

Rimes of interest, see § 332 ff.

82 **Present E. əə : əə.**

SPENSER.

μɛ ĭr : μɛ ĭr. *dirk : mirk* 474 a. *birth : mirth* 484 a.

μɛ ĕr : μɛ ĕr. *her : prefer* 594 a. *herd* s., *heard; de-, pre-, transferred* 251 a, 467 b. *inquerd* (= enquired cf. § 237) : *herd* pp. 42 a. *con-, discern, earn, gerne* (= grin), *learn, stern, yearn; term* s. 12 a, 41 a, 96 b, 193 b, 238 a, 280 a, 293 b, 321 a, 338 b, 350 a, 356 a, 365 a, 375 b, 485 b, 498 a, 517 b, 524 b. *hearse* s., *rehearse, unherse, (di)sperse, reverse, verse, universe* (529) 9 a, 168 a, 175 a,

287 a, 310 a, 471 b, 472 b, 481 a, 482 (repeatedly), 492 a, 496 b, 529 b, 561 b, 599 b [*theaters : sepulchers* 490 b]. *e(a)rst* adv., *dispersed, subversed* 51 a, 127 a, 228 b. *desert* (< deserve), *expert* v., *astert* v., *revert, subvert* 362 a, 482 b. *de-, ob-, pre-, serve; swerve; fervour* 137 a, 186 b, 199 a, 252 a, 353 b, 359 b, 452 b, 517 a, 552 a, 554 a, 555 a, 594 a, 594 b, 600 b. — In some of these rimes Spenser may have meant the rime-vowel to be μɛ ę̄ (cf. §§ 231, 353), in others μɛ ă (cf. §§ 169; 344 ff.); to what extent it is impossible to tell.

μɛ ŭr : μɛ ŭr. *cur, fur* 474 b. *lurk, work* 165 a, 264 b, 552 a, 556 b, 583 b. *world, hurled* (spelt *horld*) 529 a. *burn* v., *(re)-turn* 40 b, 156 a, 208 a, 213 a, 323 a, 325 b, 326 a, 367 a, 510 a, 535 b, 577 b. *curse, nurse, worse* 424 a, 475 a. *burst, accursed, durst* 240 b.

μɛ ĭr : μɛ ĕr. No certain cases. *birth, mirth* (spelt *-e-*) [*: dearth, earth* 20 b, 25 b, 61 a, 188 a, 198 b, 246 a, 490 a, 528 a] and *first* [: *erst* 100 b, 485 a] may have μɛ ĕr (< OE ў, Morsbach § 127 ff.) as well as *firm, confirm* (ME ĕ; spelt *-e-* occasionally still in the 16th c. : NED) [rimed : *term* 171 a].

μɛ ĭr : μɛ ŭr. No certain cases. *stir* v. (spelt *-u-*) [: *cur* s. 474 b]; *first* (spelt *-u-* 218, 360) [: *accursed, burst, durst, nursed* 218 a, 360 a, 423 b, 434 b, 557 a, 600 b]; *thirst* (spelt *-u-*) [: *accursed, burst, nursed* 14 b] may have μɛ ŭr (< OE ў). — *bird* [: *words* 153 a] and *dirt* (spelt *-u-*) [: *hurt* 450 b] have the exceptional transcription *u* in Gill, which points to ME ŭ-forms of these words; cf. further, regarding the possibility of ME ŭ (and ME ĕ) in these and other words, below § 350 ff.

μɛ ĕr : μɛ ŭr. *heardes* s. (= shepherds) : *words* 555 b. — This is not, however, an absolutely certain case, as Spenser may have had in view the form *werd* (cf. *werk* = work; *swerd* = sword § 49) used in Paston Letters (Dib. § 112); cf. Lagamon's *eo*-form, Sweet HES p. 330.

Pope. Byron. Swinburne. [*a.* ME ĭr$^{(c)}$: ME ĭr$^{(c)}$. *b.* ME 83
ĕr$^{(c)}$: ME ĕr$^{(c)}$. *c.* ME ŭr$^{(c)}$: ME ŭr$^{(c)}$. *d.* ME ĭr$^{(c)}$: ME ĕr$^{(c)}$. *e.* ME ĭr$^{(c)}$: ME ŭr$^{(c)}$. *f.* ME ĕr$^{(c)}$: ME ŭr$^{(c)}$. *g.* ME ĭr$^{(c)}$: ME ME ĕr$^{(c)}$: ME ŭr$^{(c)}$. All according to the present E. spelling.]

Pope.

a. sir, stir 235. *stirred, third, bird* 123, 417. *mirth, birth* 147.

b. err, con-, pre-, transfer, her 101, 161, 201. *heard, averred* 133. *German, sermon* 477. *con-, discern, learn* 444, 477, 483. *serve,*

observe 418 [*idolater* : *confer* 141]. Besides *Berlin* : *sterling* 473; *Vernon* : *concern one* 294; *Hervey's* : *Jervas* 474.

c. absurd, word 315. *lurk, Turk, work* 312, 474. *curled, hurled, world* 195, 199, 201, 273, 317. *burn* : (-) *turn* 45, 145, 160, 161, 211, 237, 373, etc.; *adjourn, burn, spurn,* (-)*turn, urn* 110, 150, 278, 383, 420, 473, 492. (*ac*)*curse, disburse, nurse, purse, worse* 146, 204, 218, 239, 254, 301, 302, 330, 334, 474. (*ac*)*cursed, durst, worst* 32, 120, 452. *further, murther* 498. Besides *Wortley* : *hurt lie* 474.

d. birth : *earth* 198, 239, 292, 339, 419, 447, etc.; *mirth* : *earth* 399.

e. bird, third : *word* 441, 453, 490. *whirl* : *curl* 397. *first, thirst* : *cursed, burst, worst* 218, 241, 250, 273, 303, 364, 483. *dirt* : *hurt* 344. *birth* : *worth* 250, 302.

f. learn : *turn* 52. *earth* : *worth* 301.

84 Byron.

a. fir, stir (*,sepulchre, theatre*) 196 b, 337 b. *first* : *thirst* 349 b. *dirty, thirty, shirt, virtue* 106 b, 633 b, 766 a, 780 b, 811 a. *birth* : *mirth* 253 a.

b. con-, de-, in-, pre-, transfer, err, her, aver (*,barometer* etc.) 28 b, 128 a, 230 b, 237 a, 284 b, 321 a, 333 b, 361 b, 667 a, 694 b, 790 b, 798 a, 828 a, 832 b. *ermine, determine, sermon, vermin* 770 a, 800 b, 807 a. *earn, learn, yearn, con-, discern, Oxenstiern, stern* s. &. a., *kernes* s., *earnest* 18 b, 42 a, 134 a, 147 b, 167 a, 261 a, 272 a, 292 b, 298 a, 299 a, 307 a, 340 a, 636 b, 651 b, 778 a, 790 b, 811 b. *rehearse, verse, converse, kersey, Jersey* 25 b, 42 b, 66 b, 75 a, 132 b. *alert, inert, pert, assert, desert, insert, convert, wert* 2 sg. pret., *certain* 208 a, 377 a, 770 b, 809 a. *nerve, serve, de-, ob-, pre-, reserve, swerve, Jervis, servise, servant* 20 a, 28 b, 46 a, 98 a, 192 b, 372 b, 627 b, 795 a. *dearth, earth* 327 b, 358 b. *perch, search* 757 a. *exertion, immersion, as-, desertion, a-, reversion, tertian, Persian* 60 a, 154 a, 626 a, 630 b, 657 a, 677 b, 795 a, 797 b.

c. cur, spur, demur, occur 11 a, 376 b. *curb, turbot* 836 b. *absurd, word* 28 b, 137 a, 616 b. *surf, turf* 82 a, 342 b. *lurk, Turk, work, murky, Turkey* 12 b, 57 a, 87 a, 134 a, 145 b, 198 b, 704 a, 733 b. *curl, furl, hurl, world* 5 b, 34 b, 37 b, 58 b, 123 a, 168 a, 171 a, 184 a, 297 a, 301 a, 311 a, 337 a, 353 a, 547 a, 681 b, 759 a. *burn, spurn,* (-)*turn, urn, Burns* n. pr., *Gurney* n. pr., *attorney, journey* (*,sojourn*) 3 b, 18 b, 20 a, 20 b, 36 a, 36 b, 49 b, 54 b,

65 a, 76 a, 103 a, 115 a, 121 a, 134 b, 136 b, 172 a, 186 a, 213 b, 227 a, 346 a, 362 a, 545 a, 643 a, 647 a, 675 a, 737 a, 777 a. *curse, nurse, purse, worse, worst, burst* 73 b, 95 a, 130 b, 158 a, 188 b, 303 b, 315 a, 340 b, 650 a, 667 b, 715 b, 751 b, 773 a. *hurt, curtsey* 781 a. *church, purchase* 155 a. *purge, surge, urge, scourge* 24 a, 47 b, 121 a, 179 a, 277 a, 290 b. — Besides *Bourbon* : *burden* 604 a.

d. sir, stir : *err, her* (*minister*) 243 a, 701 b. *bird, gird, third, stirred* : *heard, herd, erred, transferred* 129 a, 162 b, 254 a, 309 b, 329 b, 351 b, 361 b, 549 b, 660 b, 782 b, 799 a. *girl, whirl* : *earl, pearl* 770 a, 800 b, 823 a. *firm* : *germ, term* 815 a. *dirt, shirt* : *alert, inert, assert* 736 a, 736 b. *birth* : *earth* 9 a, 12 b, 37 a, 47 b, 53 b, 57 a, 77 b, etc. (35 cases); *birth, girth, mirth* : *dearth, earth* 18 b, 55 b, 63 b, 64 a, 73 b, 80 b, 95 b, 161 b, 204 a, 216 a, 240 a, 283 b, 298 a, 305 b, 636 b, 640 a, 711 b, 811 b. — Besides *verses* : *Thyrsis* 332 b.

e. bird, third, stirred, girdle : *absurd, occurred, word, curdle* 217 a, 375 a, 600 b, 639 b, 836 b, 839 b. *dirk, mirk* : *lurk, Turk, work* 667 b, 690 a, 736 a. *twirl, whirl* : *curl, hurl, purl* s., *churl, world* 36 b, 186 a, 776 b, 781 a. *first, thirst* : *burst, (ac)cursed, durst, nursed, worst* 61 b, 78 b, 107 a, 116 a, 134 a, 140 b, 156 b, 236 a, 269 a, 272 b, 282 a, 289 a, 303 a, 312 a, 338 a, 341 b, 549 a, 618 a, 706 b, 735 b, 744 b, 745 a, 761 b, 812 a. *dirt, shirt, virtue* : *(un)hurt* 179 b, 630 a. *birth, mirth* : *worth* 3 a, 37 a, 76 a, 139 b, 259 b, 299 a, 310 a, 322 b. *dirge* : *surge* 275 b, 355 b. — Besides *girds* : *Kurds* n. pr. 726 b; *myrtle* : *turtle* 258 a.

f. her : *demur, suburban, turban* 371 b, 621 *a*. (-)*heard, herd, erred, conferred* : *absurd, word, in-, occurred, spurred* 25 a, 33 b, 38 a, 141 a, 147 a, 163 a, 237 b, 251 b, 253 b, 262 a, 269 b, 272 a, 277 b, 287 a, 298 a, 299 a, 306 a, 320 a, 320 b, 373 a, 623 b, 688 a, 728 b, 775 a, 824 a. *early* : *curly, surly* 766 b. *earn, learn, concern, stern* s. & a. : *burn, spurn, (-)turn, urn* 190 a, 230 a, 256 a, 261 a, 272 b, 312 a, 356 b, 368 b, 617 b, 627 b, 629 a, 640 b, 664 b, 741 b, 781 a, 792 a, 828 b, 837 b. *rehearse, disperse, terse, verse, con-, reverse, universe, werst* s., *person* (*hexameters*) : *curse, nurse, worse, burst* 8 a, 19 b, 56 b, 59 a, 68 a, 120 a, 122 a, 123 a, 127 a, 137 b, 166 a, 237 b, 337 b, 370 a, 381 b, 383 a, 619 b, 649 b, 678 b, 719 b, 720 a, 723 b. *pert, as-, desert, certain* : *hurt, curtain* 375 a, 648 b. *dearth, earth, berth* : *worth* 21 a, 54 a, 85 b, 154 b, 312 b, 659 b. *search, perch* : *lurch, church* 309 a, 660 b, 835 b. *emerge, verge* : *surge, urge* 229 b, 303 b, 695 a, 826 b. *assertion, version, aversion* : *excursion* 625 b, 685 a. — Besides *pearl* : *Curll* n. pr. 116 a.

g. stir : *err* : *recur* 89 b. *bird, third* : *herd, heard* : *absurd, word, incurred* 228 b, 666 b, 670 b, 736 b. *girl* : *pearl* : *curl* 677 a. *birth, mirth* : *earth* : *worth, Worth* n. pr. 76 b, 201 b, 364 b, 368 b, 715 a, 771 b.

85 SWINBURNE.

As an illustration of Swinburne's usage I give the rimes occurring in SBS and TL.

a. bird, stirred SBS 61, 111, 222; TL 67. *birth, mirth* TL 91. Besides *kirtle* : *myrtle* TL 178.

b. err, her SBS 37; TL 158. *ermine, vermine* SBS 184. *learn, yearn, discern, eternal, vernal* TL 184, 205. *hearse, verse, a-, converse* TL 297, 399. *serve, deserve, swerve* TL 64, 103.

c. sturdy, wordy TL 324. *Turk, work* TL 174. *curl, furl, hurl, world* SBS 183, 193, 225, 241, 244, 268; TL 132, 142, 156, 212, 252, 288. *burn, spurn, (re)turn, urn.* SBS 136, 195; TL 29, 46, 172, 337. *curse, worse* TL 48, 96.

d. stir : *her(s)* SBS 22; TL 156. *bird, third, stirred* : *heard* TL 56, 249, 262, 342, 358. *girl* : *pearl* TL 251. *birth* : *earth* SBS 26, 40, 61, 64, etc. (19 cases); TL 26, 51, 68, 93, etc. (11 cases); *mirth* : *earth* SBS 191, 242, 264; TL 24, 28, 35, 46, etc. (15 cases). *birth, firth, girth, mirth* : *earth* SBS 147, 150, 188, 243, 248; TL 71, 113, 130, 133, 142, 202, 234, 247.

e. bird(s) : *word(s)* SBS 68; TL 40, 52, 67, 71, etc. (11 cases); *bird, gird, stirred* : *absurd, word* TL 57, 259, 298. *girl, thirl, whirl* : *curl, refurl, world* SBS 10; TL 250. *first, (a)thirst* : *burst, (ac)cursed, durst, worst* SBS 24, 77, 138; TL 77, 155. *mirth* : *worth* TL 334, 348.

f. herb : *curb* SBS 146. *heard* : *word* SBS 14, 17, 42, 48, etc. (10 cases); TL 10, 33, 45, 71, etc. (18 cases). *heard, deferred, erred* : *word* SBS 53, 97. *guerdon* : *burden* SBS 89, 264. *(-)pearl* : *(-)furl, (-)hurl, world* TL 52, 102, 198, 200. *germ, term* : *worm* SBS 20, 252. *learn, yearn, fern* : *burn, turn* SBS 70, 117, 166, 283; TL 7, 31, 70, 78, 92, 145, 147, 195, 245. *disperse, mercy* : *(ac)curse* SBS 52, 76, 121. *earth* : *worth* SBS 74, 110; TL 32, 33, 43, 94, 240, 315, 353. *emerge, verge* : *surge* TL 128. — Besides *Sterne* n. pr. : *burn* TL 217.

g. bird, engird, third, stirred : *heard, herd, preferred* : *word* SBS 49, 200, 226, 233, 260; TL Ded., 187, 187, 230, 255, 264, 274, 337. *whirl* : *pearl* : *curl, churl* TL 197. *birth, mirth* : *earth* : *worth* SBS 54, 145, 152, 233; TL 218.

C. Rimes incorrect in present English.

I. Rimes containing two different rime-vowels (in present E. pronunciation).

Present E. ij : ai. 86

SPENSER. μɛ ę̄ : μɛ ī. *degree* : *chevalrie* : *nie* (= nigh) 241 b. *see* : *dye* v. (= die) : *cry* : *destinie* 415 a [*bee* v. : *knee* : *Idolatree* : *satisfie* 223 a; *hye* (= high) : *descry* : *solemnity* : *Cymodoce* 290 b]. *grief, lief, prief, relief* : *life, rife, strife, wife* 56 b, 166 a, 247 b, 516 b, 578 a, 594 a, 599 b. *while* : *smile* : *keele* : *heele* 538 a. *field, shield, yield* : *vilde* (= vile), *wild; defiled, exiled* 38 b, 575 b, 580 b. *been, green, seen* : *twine* s., *vine* 496 a, 505 b. *weene* : *teene* s. : *medicine* : *eyne* 293 a. *bin* (= be, pres. pl., probably stands for *been*) : *tyne* s. : *eyne* 298 a. *pype* s. : *keepe* 339 a. *achieve* (spelt *-ive, -yve*) : *alive, arrive, deprive* 184 b, 582 b. — Uncertain is *chylde* : *fylde* pp. (= felt ; for feel'd?) 420 a.

μɛ ai : μɛ ī. *seize* : *rize* : *avise* : *enterprise* 50 b. Wallis gives μɛ ai (ei) ~ μɛ ę̄ in *seize* as in *receive, deceit* (Morel p. 84; cf. Horn Gr. § 79,5, Anm. 2). [Equivalent is probably *felicitie* : *away* 560 a, cf. B. § 22.]

The following rimes are probably correct, and due to phonetic variants:

μɛ ai : μɛ ai. *conceipt* s. (= plan, thought) : *height* 553 a. Cf. above *seize*.

μɛ ę̄ : μɛ ę̄. *seeke* : *eeke* v. : *misleeke* v. (= -like) : *cheeke* 305 a. *seeke* : *lyeke* s. 513 a. *shrieve* v. (= shrive) : *misbelieve, grieve, mieve; eve* s. 293 b, 470 b [*flie* v. 577 a (: *tree*) is = *flee*, cf. Gill : »Dialectus variat», i. e. μɛ ī ~ μɛ ę̄]. — *like* a. (cf. *lich* § 33) [NED »... 4-5 (also 6, arch.) lich . . .4-5 lick(e . . .5 lek(e . . .6 leeke . . .»] may have a regular μɛ ĭ (or μɛ ę̄) on the same grounds as *rich, ditch* (*,screech*), cf. Björkman p. 147², Luick, Anglia 16, 507; then the form *leeke* would be on the same footing with *shriek*, cf. Luick l. c. — (*mis*)*like* v. (NED . . .»6 - 7 leeke») may have μɛ ę̄ from the adj. — *shrieve* is remarkable; but the spelling undoubtedly points to μɛ ę̄. — Here possibly belongs also *sweet* : *meet* : *sprite* 78 a; the edition of 1611 has *spreete* (cf. Globe Ed. p. 687 a), and

in Shakespeare (Folio 1623) the »spelling *spreet* for *spirit, sprigte,* or *spright,* is very common» (Ellis p. 967).

μɛ ī : μɛ ī. *shrike, shright* : μɛ ī 118 a, 203 b, 337 a, 500 a, 502 b; *Flourdelice* : μɛ ī 340 b; *frize* s. (= frost) : *freese* v. 432 b; *frize* v. (= freeze) : μɛī 410 b; *prerogative* : *reprive* : *alive* 294 a; *strive* : *reprive* 310 a/b. — *shrike, shright* have originally ME ī (cf. Luick, Anglia 16, 507; B. § 16); *freeze* v. has a ME form with *-i-*: NED »4-6 frise . . .» (cf. B. § 46); *reprive* (= acquit, set free, save, etc.) may be coined on Lat. privare (cf. B. § 60).

POPE. *Racine, magazine* : *divine, line* 315, 366. *caprice* : *nice, vice* 56, 206.

besiege : *oblige* 277, 441 are correct rimes μɛ ę̄ : μɛ ę̄, see § 175.

BYRON. *ravine* : *pine* 613 b.

SWINBURNE. No cases.

87 **Present E. iə : aiə.**

SPENSER. • *desire* : *entire* : *expire* : *shere* (= sheer) 167 b. *here* : *fire* : *desire* 264 b. *fearfull* : *direfull* 551 b. — The rimes must be interpreted as μɛ ī(r) : μɛ ę̄(r). Cf. § 236; for *sheer* § 229.

POPE. *peer* : *shire* 282 contains the usual early Mod. E. μɛ ę̄-form of *shire,* given already by Gill in the compound *Worcestershire,* in the single word by Cooper, Jones, EO, Lediard, etc. The regular μɛ ī-form is not recorded by Ellis, or by Sweet in HES; some late 18th c. authorities for this form are given by Walker (in later editions, not in that of 1791) under *shire.* — [According to B. § 9, SPENSER rimes *shire* : μɛ ī; the compound *Devonshire* is rimed : μɛ ī 133 a.]

BYRON. SWINBURNE. No cases. (Compounds with *-shire* have been disregarded).

88 **Present E. i : ai.**

For rimes *wind* s. : μɛ ī see § 251.

SPENSER. Rimes μɛ ĭ: μɛ ī are probably *Ind* (= India) : *behind, bind, find, unkind, assigned* 33 a, 38 a, 42 a [Gill gives *Ind* with μɛ ĭ; yet a variant with μɛ ī may of course have existed, cf. ME frę̄nd ⟩ frĕndshipe, frĕndly; chīld ⟩ chĭlder; Orrm's behínde ⟩ behinnden, etc. Grundr. § 87]; possibly also *give* : *drive, alive, bylive, rive, strive, revive* 111 a, 212 b, 403 b; *live* : *give* :

drive : *thrive* 400 a, *live* : *alive*, *drive* inf., *(gain)strive*, *thrive* 264 b, 518 a, 527 b [or = ɹɛ ī : ɹɛ ę̄? cf. § 94; a difference, in Spenser's pronunciation, between the vowels of *live* and *give* cannot be inferred from his rimes].

In *child* : *build* : *exil'd* 426 a, *build* has, no doubt, the regular ɹɛ ī (cf. § 94). *maligne* : *benigne* : *indigne* : *bring* 233 a is based on the learned pronunciation evidenced by Gill's transcriptions *-ign*, *-ingn* of *benign*, *condign*; and this learned pronunciation has probably been in Spenser's mind also when riming *things* : *signes* 420 a (cf. Luick, E. St. 26, 270). In *clim* : *swim* : *him* 179 b the spelling points to the usual ME (= present dialectal E.) form of *climb* with ɹɛ ĭ (cf. NED). — The rimes *(for)give*, *live* : *drive* 58 b, 179 a, 405 b, 428 b; *give* : *drive* : *rive* pp. 348 a are rimes ɹɛ ĭ : ɹɛ ĭ, as *drive* is here pret. or pp. (: Gill ɹɛ ĭ). In *liv'd* : *depriv'd* : *surviv'd* : *derivd* 131 a, *liv'd* is = present E. *(long)-lived*; cf. Cooper »longlîved longævus» Ellis p. 1031.

Uncertain (for *live* cf. just above) are *shriving* s. : *living* 517 b; *reprive* : *live* : *give* : *drive* pret. 85 b. In the former rime Spenser may have had in view the ɹɛ ę̄-form *shrieve* (cf. § 86); yet the regular form with ɹɛ ī, indicated by the spelling, is supported by the fact that Spenser's rimes *live(,give)* : ɹɛ ī are more numerous than his rimes *live(,give)* : ɹɛ ę̄ (cf. § 94). This last circumstance makes it seem rather probable that in the rime 85 b Spenser actually had in view a *reprive* with ɹɛ ī (cf. § 86). — [*is* : *amisse* : *blisse* : *sacrifice* v. 576 b; *amis* : *is* : *ywis* : *enterpris* v. 82 a, etc. For cases of weak-stressed present E. ai : (weak-stressed) present E. i and *vice versa* (especially endings *-y*, *-ies*), see B. §§ 19, 22.]

POPE. *wit* : *delight*, *light* 55, 57. *live* : *seventy-five*, *revive* 67, 486. — [*eyes* : *rise* : *precipice* 54; *avarice* : *vice* 234; and a great number of rimes ɹɛ ī : weak-stressed endings *-y*, *-ies*.]

BYRON. *fiddling*, *middling*, *unriddling* : *idling* 676 b, 678 a. *mine* pron. : *divine* : *in* 371 b. *wind* s. : *Inde* : *blind* 156 a. *omitted* : *cited* : *fitted* 821 a. *(for)give*, *live* : *contrive*, *dive*, *strive*, *re-*, *survive* 207 b, 225 a, 365 a, 367 b, 671 b.

ichor : *liquor* 156 a is probably a rime ɹɛ ĭ : ɹɛ ĭ; *ichor* has a present E. i-variant (NED).

SWINBURNE. *forgive* : *alive* PB II:222 (Villon, cf. § 1). *gives* : *strives* : *drives* A 192.

89 **Present E. e : ai.**

SPENSER. *inclynd* : *find* : *mind* : *attend* v. 576 a.

The rimes *end* s. : *mind* : *find* 546 b, *friends* : *kynds* 557 b, are probably = ɱɛ ę̄ : ɱɛ ī; see § 99. — In *either* : *wether* s. : *together* : *fether* s. 303 a, as in *together* : *ether* : *thether* (= thither, for the ɱɛ ĕ-variant cf. Viëtor Sh. § 16) 419 a, *either* has ɱɛ ĕ, given besides ɱɛ ę̄ by Hart (Jespersen pp. 29, 76, 78); cf. further B. § 145; Viëtor El. § 49, Anm. 8; Luick U. § 338; Horn Gr. § 115.

BYRON. The rimes *either* : *together* 631 b, 635 a, are probably based upon the pronunciation ɱɛ ai (= ɱɛ ā) in *either*, mentioned by several grammarians about 1800; cf. Horn Gr. § 115.

POPE. SWINBURNE. No cases.

90 **Present E. ei : ai.**

SPENSER. *eyne* : *encline* : *repine* : *slain* 384 a. *keight* pret. (= caught), *straight* (spelt *-eight*) : (*sleight,*) *bright, dight, fight, hight* pp., *might* s., *night, plight, right, wight; despite* s., *quite* (both spelt *-ight*) 166 a, 325 b, 346 b, 348 a, 355 b, 369 a, 394 b; *light* a. : *aright* : *weight* : *streight* 304 b.

In the rimes *streight* : *sleight* 60 b, *bayt* : *wayt* : *strayt* : *sleight* 118 b, *sleight* has the ME ei-variant which appears in the spelling. — ɱɛ ai (= ME ei) is probably also the rime-vowel meant in *weight* : *height* s. 459 b, 529 a [*weight* has ME *-ight* and *-eight;* cf. Sweet HES p. 303. *height, sleight* are usually spelt *-ight* and rimed : ɱɛ ī in Spenser, cf. B. §§ 6, 148].

The rime *entertaine* : *traine* s. : *remaine* : *eyen* 574 b may be based upon the ME ei-form of *eye;* but it may also be interpreted as a rime ɱɛ ī : ɱɛ ai, equivalent to the rime 348 a above. This latter alternative seems to be the more probable one, as Spenser generally — and the cases are numerous — rimes *eye* : ɱɛ ī.

POPE. BYRON. SWINBURNE. No cases.

91 **Present E. oi : ai.**

SPENSER. *destroy* : *I, lie* v. 552 b, 581 a. *annoyed, destroyed* : *cried, applied, replied, spied; guide, pride, ride, side, stride*

97 b, 200 a, 271 b, 361 b, 383 b. *accoil, assoil, boil* v., *recoil, foil* s. (238), *foil* v., *soil* s., *spoil* s. & v., *despoil, toil* s. & v.; *turmoil* s. & v. : *defile, exile, file* v., *beguile, reconcile, mile, pile, smile, style, vile, revile, wile, (a-, ere-, some-) while; child, wild* 62 a, 70 b, 80 b, 90 a, 120 a, 140 b, 148 b. 172 a, 215 b, 222 a, 238 b, 244 b, 252 b, 260 a, 263 a, 275 b, 278 a, 284 b, 301 a, 313 b, 321 b, 337 b, 379 b, 388 b, 389 b, 394 b, 397 a, 399 a, 404 b, 420 a, 525 a, 529 a, 529 b, 579 a, 585 a, 597 a, 606 b. *coined, joined, purloined* : *twined, bind, find, kind, mind* 56 b, 225 b, 521 b, 557 a.

POPE. *joy, Padua-soy* : *die, lie, tie* 45, 302, 330. *side* : *enjoy'd* 167 [*enjoy* : *luxury* 210]. *spoil, toil* : *pile; Wild* n. pr. 234, 340. *coin* (257, 263, 415, 501), *join* : *combine, design, dine, divine, define, refine, line, mine, nine, Prosepine, shine, thine, vine; find, (hu)mankind, mind* 18, 54, 58, 58, 62, 63, 66, 66, 78, 106, 112, 117, 124, 128, 145, 161, 167, 173, 180, 181, 198, 206, 249, 257, 263, 293, 308, 312, 317, 329, 375, 397, 401, 415, 474, 484, 501. *noise* : *cries* 384. *doit* : *night* 317.

BYRON. *void* : *died, supplied; pride, ride, wide* 221 b, 230 b. *boil, coil, recoil, Hoyle* n. pr., *soil, spoil, toil* : *bile, defile, isle, Nile, pile, smile, style, vile, while; child, wild; aisle* 109 a, 170 a, 240 a, 345 a, 353 a, 355 a, 355 b, 621 b, 626 b, 632 a, 673 b, 684 b, 698 a, 708 b, 792 a, 799 b, 799 b. *coin, (re)join* : *combine, confine, mine, shine; unkind, mind* 17 b, 290 a, 785 a, 800 b. *in point I* : *ninety* 746 b. *choice, voice, noise* : *twice, vice; replies* 18 b, 163 b, 788 b. *poison* : *eyes on* 709 a. *loiter* : *reconnoitre* : *fighter* 775 a.

SWINBURNE. No cases.

Present E. oi : ɔ. 92

BYRON. *paternosters* : *cloisters* s. : *fosters* v. 377 b.

SPENSER. POPE. SWINBURNE. No cases.

Present E. iə : ij(ə). 93

No attention has been paid to rimes of the type *deer* : *freer* etc. (cf. § 105); nor have Byron's rimes *feel* : *real* 671 b, 837 b, *feel* : *heal* : *zeal* : *real* 93 a, 97 a, *ordeal* : *real* 103 a, *appeal, steal* : *ideal, real* 615 b, 766 b, been considered in the subsequent discussion of the rimes to present E. iə and ij.

94 Present E. i : ij, iə.

SPENSER. The following rimes were probably correct in Spenser's pronunciation:

A. μɛ ę̄ : μɛ ę̆. *grieffe* s. : *clieffe* (= cliff) 291 b. [μɛ ę̄ in *clieffe* < early Mod. E. *cleeve*, cf. Luick U. § 536]; *Queene* : *seene* : *deene* (= din, s.) : *clene* a. 9 a [*clean* see § 53; *deene* is doubtless a case of the change [ĭ-] > [ę̄], though no cases with *-e-* occur in Luick's texts; cf. Luick U. §§ 394, 398; Luick St. *passim*]; possibly also *meete* : *feete* : *flit* v. 264 b, where Spenser may have written *fleet* which is found in ME and early Mod. E. with the sense of *to flit* (cf. NED).

Uncertain are the rimes *give* : *atchive* 498 b, *give* : *prieve* : *live* 420 a. μɛ ę̄ is given in *give* by Levins 1570 (NED) and by Hart, Bll, and Gill; in *live* by Hart (cf. the 16th c. spellings *leeved* (1570), Diehl p. 21; *geeve, -ed, -ing*, Diehl l. c., Bernigau p. 22); but the scarcity of the rimes to μɛ ę̄ proves that the pronunciation μɛ ę̄ in *live, give* was not familiar to Spenser, if he knew it at all. — The rime *evill* : *civill* 513 a may be a case of μɛ ĭ : μɛ ĭ, as Hart gives only μɛ ĭ in *evil* (Jespersen p. 67). — The frequency of the rimes *field, shield, yield; wield* : (*build* = μɛ ī ~ μɛ ę̄ ~ μɛ ĭ, etc. according to Gill,) *filled, killed, shrilled, skilled, spilled, thrilled* 50 a, 139 a, 243 b, 249 a, 299 a, 510 a, 534 b [equivalent is *wield* : *hild* pret. (see § 96) : *upfild* 246 a] could possibly be considered to prove the existence of μɛ ĭ-forms of *field* etc. in Spenser's pronunciation. In the same direction point Spenser's spelling *shild* 50 a (*yild* 38 b is rimed μɛ ī, cf § 86) and the spellings *fild, shild, wild* recorded by Luick St. p. 194 (cf. Luick St. p. 197; U. §§ 27, 416). It should be kept in mind however that such a pronunciation is not mentioned by the orthoepists contemporary with Spenser; in fact not until Jones (in *wield*, as in *fiend* etc.; cf. Ekw. § 212).

B. There remain the following, tolerably certain, cases of rimes μɛ ę̄ : μɛ ĭ : *steed* : *hid* pp. 207 b; *lim* s. : *trim* : *dim* : *esteeme* 403 a; *keene* : *sheene* a. : *seene* : *skin* 162 b; *teeth* : *therewith* (: *followeth*) 399 b. — Finally there is the rime *prison* : *reason* : *geason* : *season* 536 a, = μɛ ę̄ : μɛ ĭ (?).

POPE. ɹɛ ę : ɹɛ ĭ. *feel, wheel* : *mill, still* 42, 77. *seem* : *him* 451. 95 *believe, relieve* : *give* 72, 169, 283. — The rimes *seen* : *within* 287, 473 are not quite certain, as Jones gives *seen* with ɹɛ ĭ (Ekw. § 212).

ɹɛ ę̄ : ɹɛ ĭ. *receive* : *live* 463. *con-, per-, receive* : *give* 35, 68, 101, 135, 173, 174, 220, 224, 227, 258, 458. — *within* : *mean* v. : *spleen* 298 may be a rime ɹɛ ę̄ : ɹɛ ĭ, as *mean* is given with [ī] by Smith (? Ellis p. 896) and Cooper (Ellis p.1011); yet cf. § 54.

The great number of rimes *give* : ɹɛ ē) only one rime *live* : ɹɛ ē curiously coincides with the fact that, as appears from the orthoepists, ɹɛ ę̄ was much more commonly used in *give* than in *live* in the 16th c. But there is no evidence of ɹɛ ę̄ in *give* later than Gill; and Dryden makes no marked difference between *give* and *live* in the rimes to ɹɛ ē (: *give* 5 cases; : *live* 3 cases, Dierberger § 80); so that the distribution of these rimes in Pope can hardly be due to a distinction, in his pronunciation, between the vowels in *give* and *live*.

BYRON. *near it* : *spirit* 839 b. *mysterious* : *delirious* : *serious* 830 a. *Tyrian* : *presbyterian* 825 b. — *which* : *pitch* : *reach* 163 a. *de-, appreciated* : *uninitiated, vitiated* 790 b, 807 b. *vision, Titian* : *Grecian, Venetian, sea shone* 615 a, 800 b. *species* : *vicious* 631 a. *Lucretius* : *issues* 67 a. *bidder* : *consider* : *leader* 702 a. *pig* : *brig* : *fatigue* 739 b. *litigious* : *religious* : *beseech us* 718 b. *sea-sick* : *physic* 652 a. *pique* v., *shriek* : *quick, sick* 694 a, 821 b. *predicament* : *sick I meant* : *weak I meant* 791 a. *speakers* : *squeakers* : *liquors* 783 b. *mixt* : *fixt* : *betwixt* : *seek'st* 208 a. *field, yield* : *(re)build, gild; killed, skilled* 201 b, 208 b, 355 a, 363 b, 802 b. *chameleon, cornelian* : *pavilion, vermilion* 647 b, 660 b. *free, she(men); Behmen, demon, seamen; screaming* : *women* 56 b, 619 a, 640 a, 717 b, 723 a, 808 b, 814 b. *convenient* : *lenient* : *in ye went* 762 a. *shipping* : *skipping* : *peeping* 773 b. *caprice* : *this* : *is* 647 b. *even* : *unforgiven* 335 a. *evil is* : *syphilis* 640.

SWINBURNE. *hear it* : *spirit* SSp 58. — *deem; beam, stream* : *him* PB I : 278, 300, 320. *between, green, seen; clean, lean* : *(been,) (there-, with-) in, sin, skin, thin* PB I : 7, 28, 289, 305; PB II : 198;[1] AC 88. *ease* s. : *is* : *these* : *knees* : *litanies* : *is* : *cease* SN 55. *feet, sweet; heat, wheat* : *it, sit, whit, wit* PB I : 2, 6, 21, 28, 28, 138, 207, 211, 212, 245, 263, 276, 281, 288; PB II : 196 (two cases);[1] 215. *grieve, sleeve, leave, weave* : *give, live* PB I : 304; PB II : 175; AC 88; TL 254.

[1] Villon, cf. § 1.

SPENSER. A. The following rimes seem to be correct, being based upon variants with μɛ ĕ or μɛ ĭ, different from the present E. pronunciation. — μɛ ĕ : μɛ ĕ: *gren* v. (= grin; OE e; cf. B. § 24): μɛ ĕ 420 b; *henge* s. (= hinge; ME heng, heeng; cf. NED): μɛ ĕ 70 a; *betwext* (OE i, eo, etc. cf. B. § 1) : μɛ ĕ 114 b (NED gives no *e*-forms later than the 15th c.); *sens* (= since; *-e-* < *-eo-*; cf. Bernigau § 22; B. § 1) : μɛ ĕ 254 b; *dent* (OE y), *stent* (OE y) : μɛ ĕ 98 a, 214 b, 259 a (cf. NED; B. § 2); *lest* (OE hlystan; cf. NED; B. § 2) : μɛ ĕ 362 b; *wrest* s. (OE wyrst) : μɛ ĕ 91 a, 144 a, 194 a, 290 b. Probably also *hill* s. : μɛ ĕ 191 a (OE y; cf. Horn Gr. § 30); *list* (OE lystan) : μɛ ĕ 312 b (cf. NED; B. § 2); *kissed* (OE y) : μɛ ĕ 204 a (cf. NED); possibly *gieft* (= gift) : μɛ ĕ 344 b (cf. B. § 8; for 16th c. *e*-forms of *gift* cf. Diehl p. 19; NED); *left* pp. : *bereft* : *gift* : *lift* inf. 396 a (lift < ON lyptan; 14th & 15th c. *e*-forms recorded by NED); *hid* pp. : *rid* pp. (= read) : *bred* pp. 429 b; *bred* pp. : *hid* pp. 529 b (*hid* has OE ȳ, cf. NED; *rid*, cf. NED »*Read* v[4]», may stand for *red*). — μɛ ĭ : μɛ ĭ : (-)*hild* pret. (= held; cf. B. § 46; Viëtor Sh. § 9) : μɛ ĭ 287 a, 414 a (probably meant also in *beheld* : μɛ ĭ 266 b); *besprint* pp. : μɛ ĭ 481 b (cf. NED); *lidge* s. (= ledge) : *bridge*, *ridge* 326 a (cf. NED; no *i*-forms given of *ledge*, but of *ledger* s. *-i-* »6-7». The rime could also be = μɛ ĕ : μɛ ĕ; *bridge*, *ridge* have OE y, and μɛ ĕ-variants are actually evidenced in early Mod. E., cf. Horn Gr. § 30); *bliss* v. (OE blētsian; cf. NED) : μɛ ĭ 267 b; *bliss* v. (< ?. NED »Bless v[3] . . . Also 6 *blesse*, *bliss* . . . = brandish» . . .) : μɛ ĭ 397 b; *yit* (cf. B. § 24; Viëtor Sh. § 16) : μɛ ĭ 20 b, 55 a, 67 a, 130 b, 200 b (certainly meant also in *yet*; μɛ ĭ 508 b; 604 b); possibly also *forgett* : μɛ ĭ 24 a (cf. the spelling *git* from the beginning of the 17th c., Diehl p. 17).

In the rime *head* : *did* 523 a, *did* may stand for *dede*, »come down in some dialects to 15th c.» (: NED); »I dede» is cited by NED from 1461 (Paston Letters), »ded» and »dede» by Luick (St. p. 203 f.) from Capgrave's Chronic and from Caxton's Reynard the Fox (1481). The pronunciation of these *e*-forms is uncertain (< OE dyde sg. or dædon pl. ?); the rimes cited by Luick (U. § 439) from Cursor Mundi are »widersprechend» (: Luick U. § 445).

B. There remain the following cases (= μɛ ĕ : μɛ ĭ) : *mixt* : *next* 482 b; *afflict* : *infect* 502 b; *will* s. : *ill* : *fulfill* : *hell* 261 a; *excell* : *skill*

283 a; *will* s. : *fell* pret. : *quell* : *Pastorell* 410 b; *well* s. : *dwell* : *chill* : *quill* 480 b; [*Paridell* : *fill* s. : *will* s. 208 b;] *Daffadowndillies* : *Lillies* : *Délice* (or *-lice?*) 456 a; *tremble* : *nimble* : *assemble* : *dissemble* 260 b; *resemblance* : *semblance* : *hindrance* 340 a; *beheast* s. : *breast* : *represt* pp. : *resist* 299 b; *never* : *river* : *sever* 511 a; *river* : *ever* 528 b; *riches* : *wretches* 499 a. — Equivalent to these are probably the rimes *spirit* : *merit*, *(dis)inherit* 9 a, 9 b, 239 a, 320 a, 493 b, 522 b, 527 a, 601 b. The number of these rimes compared to the rest of the rimes of this group (B) may very well be due exclusively to the frequent use of the words in question and to the lack of phonetic rime-words to *spirit*. Cf. further § 97. — [Rimes μɛ ĭ : weak-stressed *-e-* : e. g. *bliss, is* : *enchanteresse, happinesse, wildernesse* 104 b, 551 b, 583 b; some more cases B. § 8.]

POPE. *will* : *tell* 147. *driven*, *(for)given* : *heaven* 43, 52, 108, 97 110, 112, 129, 145, 165, 172, 195, 195, 197, 207, 220, 244, 252, 283, 337, 341, 462, 491.

The rimes *prince* : *hence* 341; *fit*, *wit* : *yet*, *beget*, *forget* 145, 307, 315, 325, 342, 369, 380, 483; *civil* : *devil* 84, 131, 306, 329, 466, 473; may all have been rimes μɛ ĭ : μɛ ĭ; this pronunciation is given for *hence, get, yet, devil* by several (especially foreign) grammarians about 1700 (cf. Dierb. § 36; Löwisch p. 56), cf. besides Smith's μɛ ē in *devil* (Ellis). — In *weather* : *together* : *hither* 489, *hither* has no doubt μɛ ĕ, cf. Spenser's *thether* (§ 89) ; besides Butler gives μɛ ĕ (Ellis) and Cooper »e feminin» (Ellis) in *hither*. — As to the rimes *spirit* : *merit* 255, 315, 319, 321; *mirrors* : *terrors* 478, we have to reckon with the possibility of an *r-* modification of the *i* in *spirit* and *mirror*, making these rimes = μɛ ĭr : μɛ ĕr in Pope's pronunciation (cf. § 356). The existence about 1700 of such an *r-* modification also in words with ME ĭ + r(r) + vowel is proved by Jones giving *spirit, mirror* (and some other similar words) with *ur*, i. e. his most usual notation for μɛ ĭr (Ekw. § 243 ff.); and later, this *r-* modification in expressly mentioned by W. 1791 (under *miracle*) as a vulgar pronunciation. This is certainly the explanation of the 19th c. vulgar forms »sper(r)it», »spurret», given by Flügel (under *spirit*), and probably also of the 18th c. pronunciation of *spirit* with the »*e* in *merit*» (probably = μɛ ĕ), which is mentioned by W. as beginning »to grow vulgar» in his time. So these forms and pronunciations do not at all necessitate the derivation of *spirit* < OF esperit (Horn Gr. § 26, Anm.), a derivation made doubtful already by the fact that proparoxytone forms with *-e-* seem to appear only in late ME (e. g. Paston Letters, Neumann § 79, one case; no cases

mentioned in Stratmann-Bradley or in Behrens) and especially in the 16th c, when the spelling *e* for ɹɛ ɪ̆ is very common (see § 246). As to the usage of older poets, cf. Spenser's rimes above.

98 Byron. *artificial, superficial, official* : *(e)special* 779 b, 818 b. *difference* : *preference* : *reference* 836 b. *gift* : *left, bereft* 60 b, 798 a. *infliction* : *recollection* : *dissection* 659 a. *picture, stricture; stricter* : *lecture* 151 a, 622 b, 788 b, 804 a. *yellow* : *billow* : *fellow* 681 a. *unanimity* : *extremity* : *sublimity* 735 b. *pretenders* : *renders* : *cinders* 780 b. *index* : *appendix* 631 b, 812 b. *tinged* : *fringed* : *avenged* 681 b. *fenced* : *convinced* : *dispensed* 635 b. *description* : *exception* : *the ship soon* 697 a. *swept* : *wept* : *dipp'd* 316 b. *mirror* : *error, terror* 105 b, 727 a, 806 a, 816 b. *is, kiss, miss* : *bless, guess* 733 b, 762 b. *list* : *blest* 35 b. *hither, thither, whither, wither; with (her)* : *(al)together, whether, weather* 156 a, 370 b, 375 a, 383 a, 545 b, 789 a, 793 a. *(un)civil* : *devil, level, revel, Seville* 29 a, 61 a, 114 b, 159a, 334a, 642b. *(for)given; driven, riven* : *heaven; eleven, seven* 3 a ff. (12 cases); 48 ff. (12 cases); 122 a, 138 a, 154 a, 159 a, 161a, 165 a, 167 b, 168 a, 190 a, 215 a, 226 b, 236 a, 237 a, 237 b, 241 a, 246 a, 249 b, 250 b, 251 b, 253 b, 255 a, 255 b, 260 a, 265 a, 274 a, 277 a, 281 b, 282 a, 284 b, 285 a, 287 b, 291 a, 301 a, 303 b, 310 b, 315 a, 317 a, 319 a, 322 a, 324 b, 328 a, 333 a, 334 a, 341 a, 346 b, 348 b, 354 b, 357 a, 367 b, 370 b, 378 a, 537 a, 546 a, 548 a, 632 a, 637 b, 640 a, 664 b, 673 b, 699 a, 716 a, 720 a, 800 a, 836 a. *give (her), giver, liver, quiver, river; Guadalquivir* : *ever, never; clever* (760), *endeavour* (105) 26 a, 104 a (2 cases), 105 a (2 cases), 210 a, 253 a, 261 b, 312 b, 320 b, 324 a, 339 b, 364 a, 537 b, 546 b, 624 a, 662 a, 671 a, 673 b, 687 b, 694 a, 733 a, 760 a, 768 a.

W. 1791 gives i^2 in *yes* (Byron has *t'is* : *yes* : *kiss* 691 a); and mentions this pronunciation, disapprovingly, in *yet* (Byron has *yet* : *hit* : *unfit* 835 a). — The rimes *miracle* : *hysterical* 655 b, *spirit* : *merit, inherit* 11 b, 45 b, 84 b, 96 b, 156 b, 390 b, 601 a, may be based on the pronunciation of *spirit, miracle* with ɹɛ ĕ and ɹɛ ɪ̆r respectively; cf. Walker, above § 97.

Swinburne. *midland* : *headland* E 11. *spirit* : *merit, inherit* SS 85, 189, 211; MH 100; SBS 119. *(for)given; driven, riven* : *heaven, leaven, seven* PB I:54; E 33; L 114; CR 52; SBS 65, 96, 116, 174, 213; TL 4, 45, 150, 158; *deliver, giver, river* : *ever, never, sever* PB I:196; SS 41; CR 76.

99 **Present E. e : ij, iə.**

Spenser. A. Some special cases. *weary* : *merry, cherry* (= cherish) 409 b, 499 a, 550 a are = ɹɛ ĕ : ɹɛ ĕ; *weary* is given

with μɛ ĕ by Gill (~ μɛ ę̄), Mason (Brotanek p. XXIV), Price (Ellis p. 1017); with a short vowel (Ellis »ə») by Cooper (»barbarè», Ellis l. c.). — *dread* s. (æ², cf. §§ 53, 243; often spelt *-ee-*, see B. § 39) : μɛ ę̆ are rimes μɛ ę̆ : μɛ ę̄ (38 a, 44 b, 85 b, 93 b, 148 a, 180 a, 180 b, 216 b, 228 b, 323 a, 345 b, 356 b, 382 b, 387 b, 396 a/b, 416 a, 477 b, 503 a, 508 a). — In early Mod. E. *friend* has, besides μɛ ĕ and μɛ ĭ, also μɛ ę̆ (Ellis p. 890; Sweet HES p. 359); *end* besides μɛ ĕ also μɛ ę̆ (Ellis p. 1007; Sweet HES p. 314); so that the rimes *seemd* : *misdeemd* : *feend* : *end* 73 b; *feend* : *weend* : *eend* : *esteemd* 204 b; *feend* : *freend* : *end* 259 b may be interpreted as μɛ ę̄ : μɛ ę̆. *weened* appears as *wend* (: *descend*) 424 b, no doubt with μɛ ĕ < ME wennde, B. § 45; and this form is probably meant in the rimes *offend* : *kend* : *send* : *weend* 402 b, *freend* : *weend* : *end* : *amend* 252 a, which are, consequently, = μɛ ĕ : μɛ ĕ. *fiend* is not given with μɛ ĕ by any early Mod.E. orthoepist, but such a form (due to early shortening) is of course possible of this word as well as of *friend* (cf. NED »2-7 fend(e)»). In Spenser the word is never spelt *-e-*, but it is rimed : μɛ ĕ (*attend, bend, defend,* etc.) 197 a, 349 b, 350 b, 401 b; *feend* : *end* : *frend* : *rend* 410 b; which are probably meant as rimes μɛ ĕ : μɛ ĕ (or μɛ ĭ : μɛ ĕ? cf. μɛ ĭ in *fiend* in Holy Virgin, Sweet HES p. 358, & Jones' μɛ ĭ ~ μɛ ę̄). — The rimes *wield* (in these rimes spelt *-e-*) : μɛ ĕ (71 a, 116 a, 131 a, 135 a, 233 a, 233 b, 243 b, 249 a, 338 b, 356 a, 432 b, 460 b, 489 b, 524 b, 550 b) are = μɛ ĕ : μɛ ĕ (cf. B. § 36); possibly also *yeld* (= yield) : *smeld* (= smelled) 540 a. This form of *yield* may also be the basis of the rime *beheld* : *yeeld* 243 a; yet, on the other hand, this rime can be on a level with the rimes *beheld* : *field* 245 a, 561 b. These latter may be based on the variant *hild* (see § 96) which would make the rimes = μɛ ĭ : μɛ ę̄; yet a form of *held* with μɛ ę̄ is not altogether out of the question (cf. Viëtor Sh. § 9; B. § 46). Finally, there is the possibility of a μɛ ĭ-pronunciation of *field* etc.; cf. § 94. — The rime *evill* : *drevill* s. : *devill* 236 a is uncertain. *devil* has in early Mod. E. μɛ ę̄ ~ μɛ ĕ ~ μɛ ĭ (cf. Viëtor Sh. § 9); *evil* has μɛ ę̆ (~ μɛ ĕ? Smith, Ellis p. 889) ~ μɛ ĭ (Hart, cf. above § 94); *drevill* has originally *-i-(y);* *-e-* only 15th & 16th c. (NED).

B. μɛ ę̄ : μɛ ę̄ (cf. § 243). *bread, dead, dread* s. & v. 100 (the adj. is rimed almost exclusively : μɛ ĕ; cf. for FQ B. § 30), *head, -head, lead* s., *stead, thread, tread* : *lead* v., *mead* s., *plead, (a)read* v., *read* s., 48 b, 52 b, 61 a, 64 b, 77 a, 80 b, 103 b, 113 a, 122 a, 125 a, 163 b, 164 b, 172 b, 205 a, 226 b, 257 b, 258 a,

262 a/b, 263 b, 269 b, 272 a, 285 b, 296 b, 299 b, 340 b, 367 b, 393 a, 395 a, 399 b, 402 a, 405 a, 405 b, 415 b, 468 a, 473 a, 476 a, 494 a, 496 a, 513 b, 519 a, 546 a, 546 a, 552 b, 554 a, 554 b, 555 a, 559 b, 577 b, 588 a, 590 a, 599 b. Here belong also *read* v. : *sead* s. : *head* : *dread* 166 b; *read* s. : *sead* : *goodlyhead* 368 b (cf. *seed* § 53); probably also *tread* v. : *procead* : *aread* : *dread* a. 269 a (*procead* = ɛ̄ by analogy with *concede* etc., cf. B. § 58). — *press* s. (rimed only : ɛ̄; always spelt *-ea-*), *press* v. (often rimed : ɛ̆, then spelt *-e-*) : *cease, surcease, increase, peace, release* 76 a, 134 a, 158 a, 254 b, 250 b, 278 a, 340 a, 414 a (cf. B. § 53; Caxton has a form *preeses*, Römstedt p. 7; Cheke spells *prease, presse*, Ellis). — *threasure* : *measure* : *seasure* (< seize) : *pleasure* 275 b. — *sweat, threat, threaten, breath* : *beat, defeat, eat, heat, meat, neat, seat, entreat, retreat* 26 a, 29 b, 70 a, 77 a, 90 a, 97 b, 149 a, 176 b, 206 b, 266 b, 313 b, 321 a, 349 a, 365 a, 396 b, 402 b, 448 a, 450 a, 466 a, 478 a, 494 b, 508 a, 528 a, 603 b. — *death, breath* : *uneath, heath, be-, underneath, wreathe* 58 b, 73 b, 83 a, 85 a, 86 a, 138 b, 211 b, 547 b, 602 a. — *even* a. (= ɛ̄, see § 52) : *yeven* pp. (= ME ę̄, see Luick St. p. 206) : *heaven* 455 b; probably also *steven* s. : *even* s. 475 a (both words occur only in this rime). According to ten Br. § 35 β, Chaucer has »schwebend» *e* in *stevene;* and Spenser may have had ɛ̄ in *steven* as well as in *even*, adj. & adv., also given with »schwebend» *e* for Chaucer by ten Br. l. c. *even*, s. is not evidenced in the Mod. E. period with ɛ̄, but this pronunciation is certainly possible for Spenser's time; cf. Viëtor Sh. § 12. — Here belong further, possibly, *threat* : *mainsheat* s. : *beat* v. 356 b (OE *scēat;* cf. B. § 45, Skeat, Et. D.); *health* : *wealth* : *dealth* (pres. of to deal) : *stealth* s. 230 a (according to the spelling; yet ɛ̄ is evidenced only in *health; wealth* is only given with ɛ̆, cf. the rime *welth* : *helth* 468 b; *stealth* is not mentioned by the 16th c. and early 17th c. orthoepists; cf. B. § 29); further *heat* s. : *forget* : *sweat* 105 a; *threat* : *beat* : *get* : *fret* 396 a (for late ME and 16th c. spellings and rimes indicating an [ē] in *get*, see Unna p. 10; *fret* is given with ɛ̄ by Bll, Hauck p. 43).

C. ɛ̆ : ɛ̆ (?). *beck* : *check* : *speak* : *reck* 425 b (Hart gives *speak* with ɛ̆ ~ ɛ̄, cf. Jespersen p. 80); *fell* pret. : *commonweale* 341 b (*weale* may stand for *well*, which is used for weal s. 22 b; cf. further Unna p. 12 f.); *conceld* pret. (= concealed) : *beheld* : *queld* : *held* 284 b (cf. B. § 29); *hept* (= heaped) *lept, underkept* 197 a.

101 D. ɛ̄ & ɛ̆ | st. *behest* occurs in Spenser as *behest* (= ɛ̆) and *beheast* (= ɛ̄ < ME behēse), the latter form rimed : *beast,*

feast, least, ceased, (re)increased, released (all spelt *-st*) 29 a, 38 a/b, 277 b, 296 b, 378 b, 387 b, 407 a, 420 b, 431 b, 490 b, 525 a, 544 a, 545 b, 552 a, 593 b, 604 a. — *breast* is in Spenser *brest* (usually) and *breast*. B. § 32 is of opinion that *-ea-* is only a spelling of ɛ̆; Luick, E. St. 26, 270, maintains that the spelling *-ea-* implies a pronunciation ɛ̄, due to analogical influence of words with ɛ̄ ~ ɛ̆ | st. Spenser's rimes are evidently in favour of B.'s theory, because there are only two rimes *breast* : present E. ij (*beast* : *breast* 50 b; *beast* : *increast* : *breast* : *releast* 326 b) — besides two rimes *breast* : present E. e : present E. ij (*beast* : *brest* : *suppresst* 24 b; *addrest* : *rest* (Teut.) : *Beast* : *brest* 69 b) — and in all these cases present E. ij is = Rom. e | st, which is of unsettled quantity (cf. for Chaucer, ten Br. § 79). — In many cases the orthography implies that Spenser — or the printer — knew more than one pronunciation of Rom. e | st. *crest* s. occurs as *crest* and *creast* (*East* : *creast* 74 a; *beast(s)* : *creast(s)* 176 a, 530 a; *beasts* : *feasts* : *creasts* : *beheasts* 190 a; all no doubt rimes ɛ̄ : ɛ̄); *detest* is spelt *-ea-* in the rime *feast* : *beast* : *deteast* 29 b, which is probably = ɛ̄ : ɛ̄; and this ɛ̄-form of *detest* may be meant also in *Beast* : *detest* 73 a. — On the other hand there are occasional *-e-* spellings — pointing to a pronunciation ɛ̆ — of Rom. words with present E. ij | st : *fest* [*guest* : *rest* (Teut.) : *fest* : *gest* 88 a; ɛ̆ may be meant also in *rest* (Teut.) : *feast* : *best* : *infest* 390 a; *guest* : *feast* 405 b]; *relest* [= released; *brest* : *relest* : *redrest* 219 b; *best* : *distrest* : *opprest* : *relest* 228 a; *rest* (Teut.) : *best* : *relest* : *gest* 251 a]; *increst* [= increased; *rest* (Rom.) : *addrest* : *prest* pret. : *increst* 249 a]. In view of these spellings and rimes it does not seem unlikely that Spenser may have had ɛ̄ ~ ɛ̆ in other words with Rom. e | st, in which this variation does not appear in the spelling; so that the following rimes may also have been correct : *beast* : *brest* s. : *suppresst* 24 b; *beast* : *creast* : *feast* : *addrest* 49 b; *addrest* : *rest* (Teut.) : *Beast* : *brest* s. 69 b; *beasts* : *creasts* : *guests* 149 a; *rest* (Teut.) : *Beast* : *increast* 385 b; *beast* (*Beast*) : *opprest* 371 a/b, 541 a; *east: increast* : *gest* (Rom.) 165 b; *rest* (Rom.) : *beheast* : *surceast* 178 b; *Beast* : *least* a. : *infest* : *creast* s. 387 a; *quest* : *profest* : *least* a. : *Beast* 418 b.

There remain the rimes *East* : *best* 589 a; *East* : *West* 608 b; *rest* (Teut.) : *creast* s. : *East* 590 a. Even these need not be interpreted as rimes ɛ̄ : ɛ̆. In fact, late ME and early Mod. E. ɛ̄-forms of native words with ME ɛ̆ | st are actually found, cf. Grundr. § 86, Horn Gr. § 83,1 (besides e. g. the spelling *beest*

(= best) in Paston Letters, cf. Neumann § 102); and on the other hand there are Bullokar's μɛ ĕ in *north-east* (Hauck p. 49), and Hart's μɛ ĕ in *east-wind* (Jespersen p. 78), which however may be due the former to weak stress, the latter to the following consonant group.

102 E. μɛ ĕ : μɛ ę̄. *lead* inf. : *aread* inf. : *bred* pp. : *sead* s. (= seed, cf. § 53) 65 b; *plead* inf. : *womanhead* : *dread* s. : *bread* pret. 342 b (*bread* is probably only a spelling for μɛ ĕ, due to analogical influence of *bread* s., *head*, etc. in which μɛ ĕ (= the usual pronunciation) was generally written *-ea-*); *set* : *get* : *met* : *heat* s. 308 b. Possibly also *demeanor* : *tenor* 267 a (Gill gives μɛ ĕ in *tenor*; yet cf. § 245, foot-note, for the early Mod. E. uncertainty as to vowel quantity in open syllables); and *peace* : *addresse* 574 b, *releasse* v. : *possesse* : *willingnesse* 255 a (as, with the exception of *press* s. & v. in which μɛ ę̆ is directly indicated by the spelling-*ea-*, present E. e-words < Rom. e | ss are not rimed : present E. ij in Spenser, nor present E. ij-words < Rom. e | s(s) : present E. e; the forms *relest*, *increst* § 101 may be due to the analogy of other words with μɛ ę̆ ~ μɛ ĕ | st).

F. μɛ ę̄ : μɛ ę̆. *eaten* : *beaten* : *sweeten* : *threaten* 537 a; certainly also *neede* s. : *dreed* s. : *heed* (OE ē) : *tred* inf. 124 a, where *tred* stands for *tread*.

103 POPE. μɛ ę̆. (*over*)*spread*, *tread* : *breed*, *succeed* 165, 165, 226. *breath* : *teeth* 323. — *dwell* : *feel* : *steel* 169. *esteem* : *them* 53. *impell'd* : *field* 232 (yet cf. Jones' μɛ ĭ in *wield*, Ekw. § 212).

Uncertain are *men* : *unseen* 121, *undrest* : *priest* 212, as Jones gives μɛ ĭ in *seen*, *priest*, cf. § 95. The rimes *beheld* : *shield* 115, *friend* : *fiend* 146, *evil* : *devil* 129, 146, 245, 321, 473, can be interpreted (cf. § 99) as μɛ ĭ : μɛ ę̆, *friend* : *fiend* also as μɛ ĭ : μɛ ĭ or as μɛ ę̆ : μɛ ę̆ (cf. EO's μɛ ę̆ in *friend*, Ellis p. 1076).

μɛ ę̆. *dead*, *head* : *read* 272, 325. *farewell*, *swell* : *meal*, *conceal* 241, 479. *beheld* : *conceal'd* 114. *men*, *pen* : *mean*, *scene* 445, 500. *distress* : *peace* 279. *breast*, *blest*, *guest*, *jest*, *rest* (Teut. & Rom.), *detest*, *protest*; *distressed* : *beast*, *east*, *feast*, *least*, *increased* 100, 121, 161, 163, 164, 167, 201, 210, 232, 279, 292, 303, 331, 441. *sweat*, *threat*, (*for*)*get*, *set* : *beat*, *cheat*, *eat*, *meat* 302, 305, 325, 331, 492. *death* : *breathe*, *heath* 33, 451. *heaven* : (*un*)*even* a. 109, 261. — Here probably belongs also (cf. Jones' μɛ ĕ in *Thames*, Ellis p. 1016) *Thames* : *beams*, *streams* 35, 75, 386, 387.

104 BYRON. *really* : *vermicelli* : *jelly* 668 b. *merit* : *hear it* 831 a. *material* : *burial* 759 b. — *reach'd* : *stretch'd* 318 b. *spreads* :

treads : *sheds* : *beads* 239 a. *eager* : *beggar* 835 b. *reckon'd* : *second* : *beacon'd* 159 b. *beheld* : *unsealed, revealed* 296 b, 338 b. *them* : *deem* : *seem* 708 a. *foreseen* : *then* : *men* 657 b. *demeanor* : *tenor* 695 b. *(un)pleasant, present* : *recent, (to)sea(sent)* 692 a, 730 b, 807 a. *convalescence* : *see since* : *fees since* 833 b. *attest, guest, rest* : *feast* 186 a, 803 b. *debt, Gazette, net, sherbet*; *abettor, letter* : *feat, meat*; *repeater* 630 a, 680 b, 756 a. *breath, death* : *beneath, heath, sheath, wreath*; *breathe* 3 b, 4 b, 16 b, 27 b, 31 b, 37 a, 79 a, 182 a, 231 a, 249 b, 310 b, 341 b, 354 b, 662 b, 680 b, 697 b, 724 b, 756 a, 840 b. *ether* : *together* 147 b. *devil, level, revel* : *evil* 110 a, 128 a, 154 a, 644 b, 672 b, 774 b. *seven* : *heaven* : *even* 783 a.

In *teat* s. : *yet* : *forget* 231 b, *teat* may have μɛ ĭ, mentioned by W. Princ. 232 and given as the only pronunciation by Kenrick; this would make a rime μɛ ĭ : μɛ ĕ. — *beseeching* : *retching* 652 b is probably based upon the still existing variant of *retching* with μɛ ē.

SWINBURNE. *breath* : *death* : *wreath* s. : *beneath* : *saith* : *death* CR 46, 88. *even* : *heaven* SSp 27, 102.

Present E. eə : eiə. 105

Occasional rimes of the type *care* : *player* etc. have not been collected (cf. § 93); nor cases like Byron's *wail* : *Baal* 82 b etc.

Present E. ei, eə : e. 106

For rimes to *again*, see § 251.

SPENSER. μɛ ā, μɛ ai, ME ę̄ : μɛ ĕ. No certain cases.

μɛ ę̄ : μɛ ę̄. *great* : *sweat, threat* (cf. § 242 f.) 320 a, 466 b, 516 b, 540 b, 608 a. Possibly also *get* : *great* : *beget* 599 b, on account of a variant of (-)*get* with μɛ ę̄ : cf. § 100.

μɛ ĕ : μɛ ĕ. *greater* : *better* 230 b. μɛ ĕ in *greater* is given by Hart (Jesperson pp. 29, 79), and besides appears in late ME and 16th c. spellings *-ett-* and rimes : μɛ ĕ; cf. B. § 41; Unna p. 13. —The rime *get her* : *greater* 580 b may be = μɛ ę̄ : μɛ ę̄ or μɛ ĕ : μɛ ĕ.

μɛ ai : μɛ ai & μɛ ai : μɛ ā (cf. § 250). *said* : μɛ ai 20 b, 32 b, etc. (65 cases recorded). — *said* (: μɛ ai) : μɛ ā (*made, invade, unlade*) 52 b, 115 b, 220 a, 230 b, 416 b, 552 b, 586 b.

μɛ ā : μɛ ę̄. *endevour* s. : *save her* : *favour* : *gave her* 311 b. *endevour* s. : *labour* : *favour* : *behaviour* 320 a. In *endeavour* μɛ ę̄ is given by Gill and Price (Ellis).

POPE. *threat* : *great* 118. *break* : *neck* 85. — *shade* : *bread,*

dead, head 45, 157, 222 [*came* : *Jerusalem* 149]. — *prevail* : *hell* 42. — For the rimes *said* : *maid, weighed* 101, 141; *said* : *made, shade* 106, 143, 175, 179; *says* : *days, praise* 323, 328, 479; cf. § 250.

107 BYRON. *Green Erin*[1] : *wearing* 778 a. — *very* : *Nil Admirari* 710 b. *posterity* : *spare it he* : *rarity* 626 a. — *deck* : *speck* : *beefsteak* 651 b. *Hecla* : *break law* 826 a. *Hetman* : *great man* 75 a. *met* : *get* : *tête* 712 b. — *said* : *dead* : *obey'd* 375 a. *made* : *said* : *laid* : *head* : *tread* 338 b (all intended to rime together?). *made, masquerade* : *afraid, inlaid, maid* : *dread, lead, spread* 659 a, 681 a, 724 a. *lady* : *heady, (al)ready, steady* 622 a, 640 a, 674 b, 676 b, 707 b, 790 a, 819 a, 822 b. *paid it* : *credit, read it* 772 a, 779 b. *editor* : *creditor* : *made it her* 649 a. *title-page* : *age* : *allege* 162 a. *breakfast* : *make fast* : *stake fast* 805 b. *railed, prevailed, unveiled* : *(be)held, compelled, dispelled* 82 b, 250 b, 258 b, 735 b, 835 a. *Potemkin* : *same kin* : *claim kin* 769 a. *condemn it* : *blame it* : *claim it* 718 b. *Agamemnon* : *same one* : *condemn none* 627 b. *flames* : *Thames* 66 a, 141 b. *aims, claims* : *Thames* 125 b, 137 b, 719 a. *dames, claims* : *Thames* 779 a. *brain, gain, main, pain, slain, vain* (*,again*) : *den, men, then, when* 252 b, 336 b, 363 a, 367 a, 664 a, 733 a, 737 b, 751 a. *exchange, range, strange(r), danger* : *revenge, avenge(r)* 158 b, 275 b, 286 a, 288 b, 303 a, 315 a, 362 a, 371 b, 682 a, 691 b, 694 b, 808 b. *millennium* : *pen you 'em* : *disdain you 'em* 754 b. *Danish* : *Rhenish* 801 a. *complaint, quaint, restraint, saint, acquaintance, fainter, painter* : *meant, scent, spent, content, intent, vent, went, repentance, sentence, centre, enter, adventure, indenture* 15 b, 164 b, 334 a, 373 b, 547 a, 679 b, 703 b, 714 b, 777 b, 799 b, 800 a. *less so* : *say so* : *guess so* 816 b. *chaste, haste, taste* : *breast, best, crest, confessed, guest, west* 538 a, 634 a, 719 b. *abate* : *yet* : *late* 653 b. *faith* : *breath, death* 251 a, 251 b, 267 b, 291 b, 310 b, 327 a, 329 a, 548 a, 549 b, 658 b, 691 a, 703 b, 739 b, 831 b. *illumination* : *hallucination* : *discretion* 735 a. *patience* : *conversations* : *fresh ones* 728 a.

For the rimes *any, many* : present E. ei [*zany, Corniani, Cazzani* : *any, many* 147 a, 642 b, 815 b; *many* : *any* : *rainy* 619 a, 679 a] and the rimes *said, says* : present E. ei [*said* : μɛ ai 48 a, 62 a, 375 b, 665 a, 673 a, 701 a, 724 b, 793 a; *said* : μɛ ā (: μɛ ai) 17 a, 29 a, 162 a, 342 b, 358 a, 620 a, 754 a, 764 a, 796 b, 824 a, 831 a; *says* : μɛ ai 150 a, 162 a, 379 b, 804 b], cf. § 250.

SWINBURNE. *made* : *said* : *head* : *dead* PB II : 194.[2] *came, flame, game, name, same, shame* : *them* PB I : 22, 30, 72, 135, 279,

[1] *Erin* has present E. e ~ iə.

[2] Villon, cf. § 1.

293, 319. PB II : 190, 195.[1] *chamber* : *remember* PB I : 60. *fain, grain, lain, pain, plain, rain, sain, slain, twain* (,*again*) : *men, ten, then* PB I : 16, 160, 255, 266, 295, 330; PB II : 204;[1] SBS 247. *breath* : *faith* : *saith* : *death* SS 163. *faith* : *breath, death* (, *slackeneth*) SN 17, 27, 56. — To this group may be counted the rime *rathe* a. : *faith* : *breath* : *Elisabeth* : *saith* : *death* SS 45 [*rathe* has present E. ei ~ aa according to NED]. — For the rimes *said* : present E. ei [*said* : μɛ ai PB I : 281; AC 47; SBS 232; *saith* : *faith* L 42; MH 174], cf. § 250.

Present E. eə : i. 108

SPENSER. POPE. SWINBURNE. No cases.

BYRON. *bear, wear(it)* : *spirit* 29 a, 774 a, 774 a, 793 a. — The rimes may be based upon the μɛ ĕ- variant of *spirit*, cf. § 98 (& § 178).

Present E. ei : ij. 109

SPENSER. A. μɛ ai : μɛ ai. *assaies* : *waies* s. : *kaies*(=keys) 281 a.

ME ę̄ : μɛ ę̄. *break* : *bleak, speak, weak, wreak* 16 a, 172 b, 299 a, 384 b, 415 b, 503 b, 551 a, 555 b, 579 a. *great* : *beat, excheat, eat, feat, defeat, heat, repeat, seat, treat, entreat, extreate* s. (=extraction, see § 31) 18 a, 35 a, 61 a, 88 b, 117 b, 126 a, 134 a, 143 a, 145 a/b, 173 a, 187 a, 210 b, 221 a, 231 b, 259 a, 296 a, 328 b, 343 a, 344 b, 431 a, 539 a, 608 b. — Equivalent is probably *great* : *treat* : *intrete* : *discrete* (cf. B. § 58; Ekw. § 203) 47 b.

B. μɛ ā : μɛ ę̄. *make, quake, (be)spake* pret., *partake* : *weak* a. 167 b, 413 a. *dame, flame* : *beam* s. (=ray) 205 b, 540 a. *embrace, case, face, grace, pace* : *increase* 113 b, 152 a. *laesie* (=lazy) : *creasie* (=creasy) 553 a. *ingrate* a., *hate, late, obstinate, potentate, state* : *seat* s., *treat, entreat* 241 a, 391 a, 395 a, 603 a. *nature* : *creature, defeature, feature* 259 a, 514 a, 527 b, 534 a, 557 b. *receave* (=receive; cf. B. § 157) : *grave* 8 b. *save* : *reave* : *forgave* : *drave* pret. 392 a. — Besides *great* : *repeat* : *create* : *animate* 138 b.

μɛ ai : μɛ ę̄. (Rimes to *veale* = veil, see § 31). *lay* s., *say, way* : *sea* 312 a, 551 a. Probably also *meanes* s. : *raines* s. : *chaines* 593 b (yet NED gives a 15th-16th c. form *meyne*).

In the rimes *meane* s. : *maintaine* : *leane* v. : *cleane* 431 b, *maintayne* : *uncleane* 503 b, Spenser probably had in view the variant *maintene* (μɛ ę̄; cf. the rime *Queene* : *shene* a. : *sustene* :

[1] Villon, cf. § 1.

seene 90 b; as to late ME, see Dib. § 108). This variant would make the rime 503 b = ɹɛ ę̄ : ɹɛ ę̄; the rime 431 b = ɹɛ ę̄ : ɹɛ ę̄ (cf. B. § 59).

POPE. ɹɛ ai : ɹɛ ai. *key* : *weigh* 493 (cf. Viëtor Sh. § 28, Ekw. § 136).

ME ę̄ : ɹɛ ę̄. *break* : *speak* 141, 492. *great(er)* : *cheat, complete, eat, seat, treat, retreat; creature* 119, 222, 224, 232, 240, 242, 291, 341, 342, 370, 444, 468. — Equivalent is *tête à tête* : *treat* 445.

ɹɛ ā : ɹɛ ę̄. *shade* : *mead* 33. *take, awake* : *speak, weak* 64, 102, 222, 237, 422. *race; taste* : *Lucrece, peace; feast* 221, 278, 320. *fate, gate, state; nature* : *eat, seat, feature* 251, 261, 478, 501. — Besides *speaks* : *makes* : *breaks* 85.

ɹɛ ai : ɹɛ ę̄. *day, they, away, stay, obey, survey* : *bohea, sea, tea* 73, 78, 85, 103, 159, 481. *healing* : *Tail in* 445. *days, surveys, plaice* : *seas, ease, pease, cease, peace* 163, 178, 308, 479.

BYRON. ɹɛ ai : ɹɛ ai. *quay* : *away* 141 a (*quay* is given by St. D. as »kwê» ~ »kî»).

ME ę̄ : ɹɛ ē. *break* : *beak, peak, speak, streak, weak, eke* v., *seek, weak, shriek; becaficas* 60 a, 338 b, 195 a, 547 b, 618 b, 746 a, 806 a, 813 a. Equivalent is *seat* : *-tête* : *bête* 803 a.

ɹɛ ā : ɹɛ ē. *grapes* : *escapes* : *heaps* 640 a. *embrace* : *peace* 6 b. *nature* : *creature, feature* 60 a, 698 b, 702 a, 723 a, 821 b. — Further *speak* : *break* : *take* 365 a.

ɹɛ ai : ɹɛ ē. *veil* : *conceal* : *seal* 808 a.

SWINBURNE. *north-easter* : *land-waster* : *thine haste or* PB II : 175.

110 **Present E. eə : iə.**

SPENSER. Rimes to *bre(a)re* (=brier), *enquere* (= enquire), see § 237.

A. ME ę̄ : ɹɛ ēr. *bear* s., (-) *bear* v., *swear, tear* v., (-) *wear; whilere, there, where, were* : *shear* v., *smear* v., *spear; ear* (OE ēare), *gear, near, sear* a., *tear* s., *lere* s., *(up)rear; bier* (spelt *be(a)re*), *fear, he(a)re* (= hair), *year; (y)fere, here, hear; jeer* (108 b; spelt *geare*); *appear, arrear* adv., *cheer* s. & v., *clear, peer* s. [*messengere, prisonere, umbriere, Rosiere, Vortigere*] 7 b, 19 a, 22 b, 24 b, 26 a, 26 a, 29 b, 34 a, 41 a, 45 a, 48 b, 50 a, 53 b, 53 b, 54 a, 54 b, 56 a, 56 b, 57 b, 58 a, 60 b, 62 a, 63 a, 64 a, 69 a, 69 b, 76 b, 83 a, 83 b, 85 b, 86 b, 87 b, 89 b, 97 a, 99 a, 102 a, 108 b, 116 b, 116 b, 119 a, 125 a, 125 b, 127 a, 130 b, 138 a, 140 a, 140 b, 142 a, 142 b, 146 b, 147 b, 149 a, 149 b, 152 b, 153 b, 158 b, 159 a, 160 a, 164 a, 164 b,

169 b, 170 b, 173 a, 174 b, 177 a, 177 b, 177 b, 178 b, 179 b, 181 b, 182 b, 185 a, 187 a, 189 a, 190 b, 191 a, 193 b, 195 b, 196 a, 196 a, 197 b, 198 b, 201 b, 203 b, 205 b, 207 a, 211 a, 212 b, 213 a, 214 a, 214 b, 215 a, 216 a, 217 a, 217 b, 218 a, 218 b, 218 b, 220 a, 220 b, 223 a, 224 b, 224 b, 225 b, 227 a, 228 b, 231 a, 231 b, 234 b, 234 b, 235 b, 238 b, 239 a, 239 a 242 a, 242 b, 246 b, 247 b, 249 a, 250 a, 250 a, 252 a, 252 b, 253 a, 253 a, 253 b, 256 b, 257 a, 258 a, 258 a, 258 a, 260 a, 260 a, 261 a, 261 b, 261 b, 263 b, 265 a, 265 a, 265 b, 265 b, 265 b, 267 a, 268 a, 270 a, 271 b, 272 a, 272 a, 273 b, 275 a, 275 b, 275 b, 276 b, 277 b, 281 a, 286 a, 286 b, 289 b, 290 a, 290 b, 290 b, 291 b, 294 b, 299 b, 300 a, 300 a, 302 b, 303 b, 308 b, 309 b, 311 a, 313 a, 314 b, 321 a, 323 a, 323 a, 324 b, 326 b, 326 b, 327 a, 329 b, 330 a, 335 b, 336 a, 336 b, 337 a, 339 b, 340 a, 343 b, 344 b, 347 b, 348 b, 351 a, 354 b, 355 b, 356 a, 356 a, 356 b, 358 a, 362 b, 362 b, 364 b, 366 b, 367 a, 367 b, 369 a, 369 a, 370 a, 371 a, 371 b, 373 b, 374 a, 376 b, 377 a, 377 b, 378 b, 379 a, 385 b, 387 b, 389 b, 392 a, 397 b, 398 a, 399 a, 400 b, 401 a, 406 a, 407 b, 413 b, 414 a, 415 b, 416 a, 417 b, 418 a, 418 a, 420 b, 420 b, 421 a, 421 b, 423 a, 424 b, 426 a, 426 b, 427 a, 428 b, 429 b, 430 a, 430 b, 432 b, 432 b, 433 b, 435 a, 435 b; 446 b, 448 a, 449 a, 450 a, 454 a, 455 a, 455 b, 459 b, 461 a, 464 a, 466 b, 467 a, 467 b, 467 b, 468 a, 481 b, 484 a, 485 b, 490 b, 492 a, 493 a, 494 b, 496 a, 498 a, 499 a, 505 a, 509 b, 514 b, 515 a, 515 b, 516 a, 516 b, 517 a, 518 a, 518 b, 519 b, 523 a, 523 a, 523 a, 531 b, 533 b, 536 b, 537 b, 539 a, 541 a, 541 a, 543 a, 543 b, 544 a, 545 b, 550 a, 551 b, 551 b, 551 b, 551 b, 552 a, 552 b, 556 a, 557 a, 557 a, 557 a, 557 a, 561 a, 575 b, 579 b, 581 a, 588 b, 590 a, 595 a, 595 b, 596 a, 598 a, 601 b, 603 a, 606 a, 608 b [Besides cases like *sangliere* : *deare* a. 299 b; *souldiere* : *were* 515 a; see B. § 64]. — For the spelling and the distribution of the rime-words in FQ, see B. § 61 ff.; in Spenser's other works, see below § 232 ff.

B. ɹɛ ār : ɹɛ ēr. *teares* : *unawares* : *cares* 34 b; *cares* : *teares* s. : *feares* : *appeares* 181 a; *dare* : *speare* 214 b; *fare* : *share* : *compare* : *appeare* 305 a; *heare* v. : *fare* 518 a; *heare* v. : *declare* 551 a. — Further (+ : bear, were) *aware* : *beare* v. : *areare* adv. : *neare* 143 b; *beware* : *care* : *weare* (=were) : *heare* v. 293 b; *were* : *appeare* : *beare* v. : *fare* 433 a; *cares* : *beares* v. : *yeares* 511 a.

ɹɛ air : ɹɛ ēr. *deare* a. : *heyre* (=heir) 137 b; *spheres* : *theirs* (=th'eirs, th'air(e)s ? cf. § 10) 603 a.

Besides the usual pronunciation with ɹɛ air of *despair*, Spenser seems to have known a variant with ɹɛ ēr < ME *de-*

speren, probably used in the rimes *cleare* : *appeare* : *despeire* v. : *whileare* 306 a; *beare* v. : *cleare* : *cheare* s. : *despeyre* v. 320 a; *feare* : *despaire* s. 332 a/b. Cf. § 60.

111 POPE. ME ę̄ : με ēr. *bear* s., *bear* v., *wear*, *there* : *steer* s., *appear*, *clear*, *gazetteer* 16, 99, 159, 174, 174, 174, 176, 197, 330, 387. *bear* s., (-)*bear* v., *swear*, *wear*, *there* : *spear*, *ear* (OE ēare), *near*, *tear* s., *fear*, *year*, *dear*, *here* 24, 108, 119, 139, 141, 158, 162, 178, 221, 225, 297, 408, 481, 494, 496, 502. *bear* v., *there* : *sphere* 87, 195, 200. *sincere* : *ev'rywhere* 217. Cf. *swears* : *Lear's* 332. — Equivalent is *ear* (OE ēar) : *parterre* 262.

με ār : με ēr. *shear* v : *care* 18. *care*, *spare* : *sphere* 181, 417. — Besides *prepare* : *bear* v. : *fear* 159.

με air : με ēr. *appear* : *pray'r* 120. *affair*, *air*, *hair*, *heir*, *theirs*; *prayer* : *ear* (OE ēare), *tear* s., *rear* v., *year*, *hear* 77, 111, 157, 158, 247, 261, 334, 443, 492. *fair*, *hair* : *sphere* 88, 201. *atmosphere* : *Air* 417. — Besides *bears* v. : *appears* : *hairs* 168; *wears* : *appears* : *hairs* 174; *ear* (OE ēare) : *repair* : *there* 58.

BYRON. ME ę̄ : με ēr. *bear* v., *wear* : *ear*, *near*, *sear* a., *tear* s., *rear* v., *fear*, *year*; (*en*)*dear*, *hear*, *appear* 33 a, 47 b, 129 b, 185 b, 187 a, 191 b, 256 a, 263 b, 691 a, 691 b, 710 a. *were*, *there* : *near*, *fear*, *dear*, *appear* 13 b, 358 a, 376 a. *e'er* (=ever) : *rear* v. : *steer* s. : *clear* 229 a.

με ār : με ēr. *dare*, *prepare* : *hear*, *appear* 57 b, 376 a.

SWINBURNE. *there* : *tear* s. PB I : 59. *hear* : *were* PB I : 287. [*dear* : *bear* v., *wear* : *mair* (Sc.) PB I : 324, 325, may be based upon some dialectal pronunciation and are not on a par with the other cases.]

112 **Present E. æ : ei, eə.**

SPENSER. A. με ā : με ă.

I. Irrelevant and uncertain cases. *hast* 2 sg. [: *taste* v. : *defast* (= -faced) pp. 122 b]; and *hath* 3 sg. (: *scath* s., 77 b, 212 b; see § 118) are equivalent to other words with ME ăst, ăth; see §§ 268, 282. — Rimes με ā : με ā are *have* : *brave*, *cave*, *crave*, *drave* pret., *gave*, *grave* s., *grave* a., *behave*, *deprave*, *rave*, *save*, *slave*, *wave* s. 12 a, 35 a, 58 b, 96 b, 106 b, 112 a, 115 b, 121 b, 126 b, 132 a, 216 a, 338 b, 365 b, 367 b, 419 b, 490 a, 495 b, 502 b, 505 b, 514 b, 515 a, 582 b, 597 a, 597 b, 601 a. Rimes με ā : με ā are probably also *am* 1 sg. : με ā [*ame* : *came*, *shame*, *Dame*, *same* 35 b, 77 a, 202 b, 215 b; *name* : *am* 598 b] see § 268; *glad* a. (spelt *-ade* 216) : *made*, *shade* 216 a, 284 a, 365 b; cf. NED; B. § 70 [further in *made* : *glad* :

rode pret. : *mayd* 433 b; here — as well as in *roade* : *glade* s. 367 b and possibly in *roade* : *baude* s. 233 a (§ 128) — *ro(a)de* certainly stands for the Northern *rade* with ɱɛ ā (cf. B. §§ 100, 180, Luick U. § 34; for corresponding preterites in Spenser see § 35 above), so that the rime is = ɱɛ ā : ɱɛ ai]; *stature* : *nature, creator* 395 a, 430 a, 495 a (cf. the rimes to ɱɛ ę̄ §§ 115, 180). — As ɱɛ ă : ɱɛ ă may be interpreted *matche* v. : *ache* s. 470 a (Price gives ɱɛ ă in *ache* according to Ellis; yet Gill has ɱɛ ā, and probably also Mulcaster, Ellis p. 912); *carrie* : *tarry* : *vary* v. 431 b (Bll gives ɱɛ ă in *vary*, Hauck p. 38); *(em)passion, fashion, faction*: *occasion, -ation* 303 a, 305 b, 406 b, 514 b, 519 a, 543 a, 555 b, 557 b (as to *-asion, -ation* with ɱɛ ă, cf. Hart, Jespersen p. 93; Bll, Hauck p. 36); possibly — according to the spelling (shortening of the vowel | two consonants ?) — *awakt* (= -aked) : *lakt* (= lacked) 124 b; *wrapt* pp. : *hapt* pp. : *mis-shapt* : *unapt* 381 a, cf. § 282.

II. The following rimes remain: *made* : *had* : *bad* a. 261 b; *had* : *wade* : *trade* : *made* 286 a; *sad* : *had* : *bestad* : *made* 324 a; *back, black, pack* s., *wrack* : *lake, make, (par)take*; *brake* pret., *(be)-spake* pret., *strake* pret. 351 a, 371 b, 392 a, 535 a, 578 b; *lamb, ram* s., *swam., foeman* (*ysame* = together, see § 38) : *came* 12 a, 433 a, 448 a; *late* : *fat* 433 b [For *had* : *wade* : *trade* : *made* 286 a, cf. § 268]. — Nor are these cases absolutely certain.[1] Cf. NED : *cam* (=came), Northern form, 13th-16th c.; *madde* pp. (=made) 15th c.; *mack* inf. (=make) 15th-16th c. [cf. Hart's ɱɛ ă in *making* (*make* & *maketh* with ɱɛ ā) Jespersen p. 94]; *lacke* (= lake) 14th-16th c.; *brack* (= broke) Scotch and Northern form, 14th c. onwards; etc. Cf. further Curtis Anglia 16, 399 ff. (numerous cases of ɱɛ ā ~ ɱɛ ă in Scotch at the beginning of the 16th c.). — However, it cannot be ascertained to what extent Spenser knew and had in mind these and similar forms; but at any rate, his rimes ɱɛ ā : ɱɛ ă can not be looked upon as very numerous (for rimes ɱɛ ăr(c), ăs(c), ăth : ɱɛ ā, see § 282.

B. ɱɛ ai : ɱɛ ă. *obtain'd* : *hand* 423 a.

POPE. Rimes *ass* : ɱɛ ā, see § 118. 113

ɱɛ ă : ɱɛ ā(r). *Paris* : *Maries* 381. — *back, track* : *make, take* 53, 95. *Alse* : *tales* 150. *that, at* (Lat.) : *debate, (e)state* 131, 292, 327, 411. *satires* : *dedicators* 64 [*fame* : *Buckingham* 462]. — The rimes *have* : *crave, gave, knave, slave, wave* 148,

[1] Bll has ɱɛ ă ~ ɱɛ ā in *take* (Hauck p. 37) as well as in some other words of the same kind; cf. § 282.

220, 297, 321, 322 may be = æ ā : æ ā, as æ ā in *have* is known still by Lediard and some contemporary foreign orthoepists (Löwisch p. 34).

æ ă : æ ai. *man* : *plain, maintain, vain* 108, 131, 194. *land* : *remained, complained* 85, 152 [*tail* : *animal* 183].

æ ă : ME ę̄. *break* : *crack* 273.

Byron. æ ă : æ ā(r). *Charity* : *rarity* 699 a. *narrative* : *comparative* : *share it if* 822 a. *secretaries* : *parries* : *varies* 770 a. — *Adam* : *made him* 600 a. *back, slack(en)* : - *take(n)* 376 b, 602 a. *Italian* : *a value on* : *Pygmalion* 760 b. *ram* : *lamb* : *tame* 677 a. *amber, clamber* : *chamber* 170 b, 263 b. *Thamis* : »*damme's*» : *fame is* 776 b. *as* : *base* : *place* 158 b. *hat, that* : *date, late, state* 368 b, 782 b. *stature* : *nature* 613 b, 800 b. *gathers* : *bathers* 757 a. *have* : *brave, crave, gave, grave, rave, slave, wave; affidavit* (814 a) 209 b, 231 b, 316 a, 359 b, 362 a, 677 a, 757 a, 814 a. *fashion, passion* : *nation, -ation, -asion* 16 a, 787 b, 791 a, 816 a, 832 a. *imagine* : *waging* : *raging* 713 b.

æ ă : æ ai. No certain cases. In the rimes (*for*)*bade* : *made, trade* : *aid, afraid, pray'd* 331 b, 666 b, 711 a, (*for*)*bade* probably has the pronunciation æ ā [W. 1791 gives a^4; in later editions a^2, e. g. that of 1872 by E. Smith, and that by Young 1849, used by Storm (p. 370). This later transcription may be due to misinterpretation, on the part of later editors, of W.'s Princ. 75].

æ ă : ME ę̄. *ate* : *cat* : *great* 376 b (*ate* is probably meant to have the pronunciation æ ā, as rimes æ ĕ : æ ă are very scarce in Byron). *parable* : *arable* : *bearable* 825 b.

Swinburne. (-)*chamber* : *amber* PB I: 322; SBS 209. *have* : *save* PB I: 284. — *hath* : *scathe* s. (cf. § 119) : *faith* PB II : 217.[1] — For *bade* : *maid* PB I: 276 cf. Byron. St. D. gives *bade* with disputed pronunciation (i. e. æ ă ~ æ ā).

114 Present E. æ : e.

Spenser. æ ă : æ ĕ (? see §§ 268, 282). *hath* 3 sg. : *death* 599 b.

The rime *gather* : *Belwether* (OE weðr) 515 b is probably based upon the form *gether*, used by Spenser in the rimes *thether* : *geather* 518 a; *hether* : *gether* 456 b [For *gether* cf. NED; for *thether* cf. § 89; for *hether* cf. NED (besides Butler gives [ĕ] according to Ellis)].

[1] Villon, cf. § 1.

POPE. *shadows* : *Meadows* n. pr. 478. — Probably correct are *Stanyan* n. pr. : *any one* 474 (= ɹɛ ă : ɹɛ ă, see § 250). — For rimes to *Mall*, see § 123.

BYRON. *had* : *led, dead, dread* 376 b, 824 a. *shadow* : *meadow* 600 a, 607 a. *palfrey* : *belfrey* 377 a. *Rondello* : *fellow* : *shallow* 372 b. *Alp* : *scalp* : *help* 364 a. *Mammoth* : *Behemoth* 613 b. *empire* : *samphire* : *vampire* 780 b. *many* : *Sennæ* : *Ipecacuanhæ* 769 a. *gather* : *together* 604 a. Besides *chambre* (F.) : *amber* : *remember* 827 b.

The rime *thrashing* : *refreshing* 146 b is probably based on the variant *thresh*. — *any ill* : *spaniel* 656 b, and *shallow* : *yellow* : *fallow* 765 a, may both be rimes ɹɛ ă : ɹɛ ă; for *any* see § 250; *yellow* is given with ɹɛ ă by G. Sharp 1786 (Ellis p. 1052), a pronunciation mentioned — though disapprovingly — also by Walker, who quotes several 18th c. authorities both for the one and for the other pronunciation.

SWINBURNE. *had* : *bade* : *glad* : *head* PB I:254. *shadow* : *meadow* E 65. *fallow* : *shallow* : *yellow* SS 197. *carry me* : *bury me* AC 90. *gather* : *heather* A 204;[1] *gather* : *heather, weather* PB II:165; SS 210; SSp 6; TL 239, 357.

Present E. æ : ij. 115

SPENSER. ɹɛ ā : ɹɛ ę̄. *stature* : *creature* 522 b (see § 180); *have* : *leave, reave, sheave* s. (= sheaf) 261 b, 362 a, 485 b (cf. § 112).

POPE. BYRON. SWINBURNE. No cases.

Present E. aa : æ.[2] 116

SPENSER. *demand* : *band* s., *hand, (under)stand* 370 b, 384 a, 478 a [Rimes to present E. weak-stressed *-ance, -ant*, cf. B. § 184].

has 3 sg. : *lass* s., *mass* (< OF), (-)*pass* 24 b, 145 a, 206 a; *hast* 2 sg. : *blast* s., *fast, passed* pp. (spelt *past*) 100 b, 473 b, 482 b; *hath* 3 sg. : *bath, path, wrath* 30 b, 64 a, 176 b, 288 b, 500 a; are all correct (cf. § 268), as well as *gather* : *father* 515 a (cf. § 281). — The form *salve* v. (= to save) in the rime *salve* : *behalve* s. 250 a is due to influence of OE sealfian (B. § 183; cf. Koeppel p. 11) or borrowed from Lat.; the rime may be = ɹɛ ălᶜ : ɹɛ ălᶜ.

[1] Repeatedly. Used in the burden. The language in this poem is strongly infused with dialectal (Sc.) forms.

[2] As present E. aa-words have been considered *romance* s., *Romance* a. (= Kenrick; St. D. gives present E. aa ~ æ in Romance a.), *finance, financier, pant* v. (CD: present E. aa), all with ME or early Mod. E. *au*-forms; and *ass* s., *mass* (< OE), *mass* (< OF), in which CD gives present E. aa (NED æ).

POPE. *command, demand* : *band, hand,* (-)*land,* (-)*stand* 51, 62, 66, 85, 99, 107, 118, 145, 146, 151, 153, 156, 159, 159, 211, 220, 262, 278, 315, 343, 367, 384, 394, 422, 493 [*advance* : *complaisance, ortolans* 408, 442].

BYRON. *Scamp* (n. pr.) *ill* : *example* 147 a. *sample, example* : *ample, trample* 631 b, 756 b, 767 a. *command* (*ment*), *demand* : *and, band, hand, land, stand, strand; bland, grand, expand; planned, scanned, spanned, trepanned* 9 b, 17 a, 20 b, 31 a, 33 b, 73 a, 74 b, 80 b, 83 b, 101 a, 112 a, 135 b, 139 a, 139 b, 141 a, 144 a, 147 b, 172 a, 172 b, 179 a, 196 a, 224 a, 246 b, 261 b, 262 a, 264 a, 265 a, 266 a, 266 b, 271 b, 286 b, 291 a, 292 a, 294 b, 299 b, 300 a, 302 b, 317 b, 322 a, 340 a, 370 a, 381 a, 389 b, 547 a, 548 a, 597 b, 624 a, 631 a, 645 a, 646 b, 658 b, 663 a, 679 a, 681 a, 697 a, 711 a, 711 a, 743 a, 745 b, 760 a, 760 a, 787 a, 790 a, 820 a. *Alexander* : *gander* : *salamander* 814 a. *dance, glance, trance* : *expanse* 138 a, 196 b, 285 a. *stanzas* : *dance as* : *France has* 617 b. *answer* : *can, Sir* 70 a. *grant-O* : *canto* : *portmanteau* 69 b. *Franceces* : *dances is* : *phantasies* 782 b. *cant* s. : *shan't* 697 a. — *class, glass, pass, amass* : *as, gas, passus* (Lat.) 113 b, 151 b, 336 b, 622 b, 705 b, 722 b, 776 b. *fast, last, past* : *hast* 2 sg. 89 a, 161 a, 203 a, 226 a, 691 b. *father* : *gather* 29 a, 86 a, 106 a, 323 b, 675 b. *path* : *hath* 3 sg. 538 a. *path, lath* (,*wrath* cf. § 119) : *hath* 3 sg. 179 a, 194 b. — Further *command do* : *Orlando* 374 b; *Allemande* : *understand* : *hand* 823 a.

In *palaver*, rimed with *slaver* s. 147 a, CD gives present E. æ. — *salam* : *am* 248 b is probably = ɹɛ ă : ɹɛ ă, as »*Salam*» is given with a[4] in the Supplement of Walker's Dictionary (later editions); *damn* : »*Salām*» : *am* 775 a is uncertain, but the spelling »-ām» (if Byron's own) seems to indicate the usual present E. aa.

SWINBURNE. (*per*)*chance, dance, France, glance, trance* : *man's* PB I:139; SBS 23. — *hath* 3 sg. : *wrath* (cf. § 119; Byron) PB I:272; TL 23. *path, wrath* : *hath* 3 sg. PB I:106; SBS 272.

117 **Present E. aa : eə.**

SPENSER. *hard, regard; marred* (317) : *bared, declared, fared, prepared, spared, stared* 140 a, 279 a, 313 a, 317 b, 459 a, 515 a, 519 a.

are has the regular ɹɛ ār in the numerous rimes to ɹɛ ār and ɹɛ air (*are* is often rimed also to ɹɛ ăr, then with very few exceptions spelt *arre*) : *are* : *bare* a., *bare* pret., *care, declare, dare,* (-)*fare* v., *welfare, compare, rare, snare, spare, square, stare, (un)-aware* 164 a, 295 a, 343 b, 410 a, 417 b, 435 a, 435 a, 504 a/b, 554 a,

578 b, 583 b, 589 a, 593 b. *are* : *air, fair* a., *heir* (spelt *ai*), *hair, impair* (spelt *a* 67 a) [: *bare* pret., *care, fare, com-, prepare, rare, share*] 8 b, 67 a, 290 a, 432 a, 581 a.

POPE. *hard* : *dared* 483. — *star, Issachar* : *air* 74, 156, 469. — *star* : *bear* v., *wear* 37, 166.

are has ɛ̄ ār in *are* : *care, declare* 141, 220, 322; *are* : *chair* 328.

BYRON. *bard, guard, hard* : *prepared, spared* 191 b, 276 b, 277 b, 279 a, 629 a, 785 a. *scarce* : *farce* 61 b. — *are* : *spare* 93 a. *whate'er* : *Rag Fair* : *are* 614 b.

SWINBURNE. No cases.

Present E. aa : ei. 118

SPENSER. *place* : *space* : *grasse* 511 b. — *blast* s., *brast* (= burst), (*over*)*cast, fast* a. & adv., *aghast, last* a., *forepast* a., *repast* s. : *taste, waste* : *chased, defaced, agraced, unlaced,* (*over*)*placed, rased* 62 a, 82 b, 173 a, 226 b, 232 a, 246 a, 321 a, 327 b, 332 a, 350 b, 365 a, 429 a, 450 a, 578 a. [Present E. *-aced* (pret. & pp.) are spelt *-ast(e)*; present E. *-aste* are spelt *-ast(e);* present E. *-ast* (and *passed*) are spelt *-ast,* rarely *-aste*].

The rimes *blast* s. & v., *brast* (= burst), (*fore-, over-*)*cast* v., *fast* s., *fast* adv., *aghast, last* a., *last* v., (-)*past* a., (-)*passed* pret. & pp., *repast* s. : *chaste, haste, taste, waste* a. & v. 18 a, 22 a, 30 b, 32 b, 36 b, 42 b, 65 b, 146 a, 151 a, 164 b, 187 a, 197 b, 213 a, 234 b, 267 a, 301 b, 344 a, 348 a, 364 a, 379 a, 402 a, 403 b, 410 b, 415 b, 417 a, 419 a, 446 b, 461 b, 466 a, 466 a, 473 a, 475 a, 484 a, 485 a, 485 b, 491 a, 493 b, 500 a, 526 b, 528 b, 596 a may all be = ɛ̄ ăst : ɛ̄ ăst; cf. for *chaste* etc. Viëtor Sh. § 35. — Equivalent to these rimes are those to *waist* (cf. § 58): *haste* : *waste* : *overcaste* : *vaste* 68 b; *wast* : *cast* 302 b; *faste* a. : *waste* 456 a. — *Placidas* : *embras* s. : *Amyas* : *pas* v. 274 b is uncertain; the spelling *embras* points to ɛ̄ ăs. Is the form a direct loan from Chaucer (cf. § 13)? — *scath* s. has ɛ̄ ăth (Gill [ă]) in the rime *wrath* : *scath* 30 b; ɛ̄ ā probably in *rathe* adv. : *scathe* s. 485 a (*rathe* occurs only in this rime and in *rathe* : *bathe* v. 467 a).

POPE. *laugh* : *safe* 61. — *ass* (499), *brass, glass, grass, mass, pass* : *face, grace, place, race* 18, 57, 116, 119, 198, 264, 327, 396, 449, 499; *bass* : *ass* 385 (cf. § 188). *last* a., *last* v., *mast, past, repast* s. : *chaste, haste, taste, waste* 31, 76, 80, 168, 295, 302, 401. *plac'd* : *last* a. 323; *pass'd* : *chas'd* 67.

BYRON. *safe* : *half* : *chafe* 692 b. — *pant* v. : *faint* 602 a. — 119
masses : *places* : *embraces* 377 b. *blast,* (*over*)*cast, fast, last* a., *past, classed, passed* : *haste, taste, waste* 85 b, 167 a, 209 a, 645 a,

734 a, 791 b, 832 b. *fast, last* a., *repast, passed* : *haste* : *embraced, chased, placed* 351 a, 680 b, 740 b, 769 b.

vase s. has the pronunciation ɹɛ ā in the rimes *vase* : *face, grace, apace, place, race; gaze, trays* 376 a, 677 a, 727 b, 750 a. — *wrath* : *scathe* v. 325 b may have been a correct ɹɛ ă-rime, Walker giving *scath* v. with a^4 as well as *wrath* s. (~ o^4); the pronunciation ɹɛ ă is given in *wrath* also by two American authorities of St. D. — The rime *tale* : *Portugal* : *de Staël* 683 a seems to point to a ɹɛ ā in *Staël;* yet cf. the rimes present E. ɔɔ : aa § 122.

SWINBURNE. *everlasting* : *forecasting* : *wasting* SBS 200. *-hasting* : *wasting* : *forecasting* : *blasting* : *everlasting* CR 23.

120 **Present E. aa : e.**

SPENSER. *at last* : *cast* pret. : *fast* : *creast* s. (= crest) 250 a may be due to an alteration at the hands of the printer; cf. §§ 9 f., 282.

BYRON. *by far; he* : *bury* : *cemetery* 372 a. *passage* : *message* : *presage* 797 b. *gesture* : *vesture* : *pasture* 775 b. — The rime *feather* : *rather* : *together* 376 b may be a rime ɹɛ ă : ɹɛ ĕ, as *rather* is given with a^4 by Walker (who mentions also a pronunciation with a^1).

POPE. SWINBURNE. No cases.

121 **Present E. aa : iə.**

SPENSER. *regard* : *reard* 202 a (cf. § 282).

POPE. *star* : *revere* 231.

BYRON. SWINBURNE. No cases.

122 **Present E. ɔɔ : aa.**

SPENSER. *water* : *laughter* 575 b.

fought, ought pron., *thought; overcaught, raught* pret., *distraught* : *draught* 136 b, 209 a, 246 b, 265 b.

commaund : *paund* (= pawned) 474 a. *avaunt* v., *paravaunt, daunt, haunt, taunt, vaunt* : *enchant, grant* (both spelt *-aunt*) 66 b, 70 b, 388 a, 408 b, 525 b, 558 b [Besides some rimes *daunt* etc. : present E. weak-stressed *-ant* (spelt *-aunt* in these rimes); for examples cf. B. § 184].

war (spelt *warre*) : *are* (spelt *arre*), *bar, darre* (= dare), *far, jar, Jarre* n. pr., *mar, star* 21 b, 52 a, 71 a, 89 b, 89 b, 101 a, 103 b,

103 b, 110 a, 110 b, 125 b, 132 a, 138 a, 171 a, 232 b, 315 a, 510 b, 514 b, 527 a, 528 a, 532 a, 579 b, 598 a. *ward* s. & v., *reward, out-, thitherward* : *(dis)card, guard, regard, hard, shard* pret. 27 a, 119 a, 141 a, 158 b, 163 b, 297 b, 317 a, 346 b, 411 b, 421 a, 475 b, 484 a, 494 a, 517 b, 533 a, 551 a. *ward, reward* : *regard,* (-)*guard; embarred, marred* 214 b, 219 b, 383 a. *dwarfe* : *scarfe* 300 a. *swarm, warm, warn* : *arm* (Teut.), *(dis)arm* (Rom.), *charm, farm, harm, alarm* 111 b, 143 a, 250 b, 314 b, 353 b, 478 b. *Medæwart* n. pr., *quart, swart* a., *thwart* v., *over-, athwart* adv. : *art, heart, (a)part, depart, dispart* v., *smart* 121 a, 133 a, 133 a, 192 b, 284 b, 524 a.

swarmd : *deformd* : *armd* : *warmd* 126 b; *storm* : *arm* (Teut.), *arm* (Rom.), *harm, alarm* 401 b, 529 b, 530 a.

POPE. *law* : *ça* (F.) 445.

bought, brought, thought : *draught* 152, 239, 260, 469.

war : *bar, car, afar, jar, scar* 34, 38, 93, 164, 292, 329. *reward* : *card, guard* 169, 242. *warm* : *arm* (Teut.), *arm* (Rom.), *charm* 20, 28, 42, 168, 380, 452. *quarter* : *garter, martyr* 299, 474.

BYRON. *bah, éclat, mamma, pas* sg. (F.) : *awe, flaw, law, saw, squaw* 617 b, 633 a, 792 a, 801 b, 811 b. *applause* : *pas* pl. (F.) : *laws* 808 b. *all, ball, call, wall* : *Staël* 97 a, 144 b.

yawn, Sirs : *dancers* 61 a.

haunt, vaunt : *plant* 185 b, 325 b. *vaunted* : *enchanted* : *panted* 811 a. *intrigante* s. : *haunt* : *can't* 812 a. *chant* : *vaunt* : *aunt* 768 a.

war : *are, (un)bar, car, (a)far, jar, ajar, mar, scar, star; hussar, czar, guitar, Garr* n. pr. (Sc.) (*Trafalgar*) 5 b, 16 b, 17 a, 20 a, 24 a, 29 a, 37 a, 41 b, 48 a, 85 b, 97 b, 109 a, 121 b, 131 a, 138 b, 140 b, 141 a, 143 a, 167 a, 167 b, 170 a, 172 a, 183 b, 184 a, 195 a, 199 a, 206 b, 214 b, 222 b, 227 b, 233 a, 242 b, 243 b, 251 a, 280 b, 285 b, 298 b, 304 b, 307 a, 317 a, 331 a, 332 b, 364 b, 368 a, 537 b, 546 a, 613 b, 636 b, 651 b, 654 b, 667 a, 730 a, 754 b, 757 b, 764 a, 778 b, 802 a. *warb(le)* : *barb, garb, garble, marble* 600 b, 727 b, 792 a. *warred; sward, ward, award, reward; Ward* n. pr.; *warden* : *marred; bard, card, guard, hard, regard, retard; gardcn, pardon* 8 b, 19 a, 19 b, 25 b, 26 b, 37 b, 41 a, 89 a, 101 a, 114 a, 115 b, 120 a, 122 b, 135 a, 145 a, 168 b, 255 a, 258 b, 262 b, 288 b, 302 a, 358 a, 372 a, 546 a, 639 a, 732 a, 741 a, 742 b, 767 a, 780 a, 806 b, 813 b, 817 b. *swarm, warm* : *(dis)arm* (Rom.), *arm* (Teut.), *charm, farm, harm, alarm* 7 b, 22 b, 55 a, 68 b, 95 a, 172 a, 671 a, 719 a, 724 b, 726 a. *harp* : *sharp* : *warp* 366 a, 693 b. *wars* : *Mars* 117 a, 740 a. *thwart,*

athwart : *heart, part, depart* 105 a, 216 a, 330 a. *quarter* : *barter, martyr, Tartar* 107 a, 171 b, 317 a, 649 a, 700 a, 712 b, 732 a, 736 b, 748 b, 751 b.

for : *war* : *bar* 368 b. *nor* : *war* : *star* 208 b. *or* : *war* : *star* : *are* 227 a. *gorge* : *George* : *charge* 731 b. *barb* : *garb* : *absorb* 651 a. *warm* : *arm* : *form* 721 b. *arm* : *warm* : *storm* 663 a. *form* : *warm* : *charm* 800 a. — *guardsman* : *swordsman* : *Hardsman* n. pr. 802 b. — *laureate* : *tory at* : *are ye at* 625 a.

SWINBURNE. *war* : *car, afar, scar* E. 31; SBS 256. *thwart, athwart* : *art, heart, start* A 73; TL 284. [Cf. rimes to weak-stressed vowel : *afterward* : *Ettarde* n. pr. TL 31; *afterward* : *hard, marred* PB I: 258, 262, 281, 290.]

123 **Present E. ɔɔ : æ.**

SPENSER. μɛ ăl(c) : μɛ ăl(c). *shall* : *all, call, fall, gall, hall, thrall, withal* 161 a, 173 b, 405 b, 579 a. *scalpe* : *chalke* 468 b. — For μɛ ăl in *shall* cf. Ellis p. 902; in *scalp* μɛ ăl(c) is given by Hodges (Ellis p. 1023).

μɛ ă : μɛ ă (cf. § 279). *water* : *flatter, matter* 390 b, 551 b.

POPE. No cases [Present E. ɔɔ : weak-stressed *-al* 51, 117, 277, 327. — *Mall* n. pr. (NED : present E. ɔɔ; CD : present E. e ~ æ; W. : e²; Kenrick and Lediard : μɛ ă;· Miège, Ellis p. 1011, [ĕ] in *mall* = »jeu de paume») is rimed with *canal* 446, with *well* 448 (cf. *maul* v. : stall 398); no doubt both correct, = μɛ ă : μɛ ă and μɛ ĕ : μɛ ĕ respectively].

BYRON. *Cossacque* : *attack* : *walk* 735 a. — *caught, taught, daughter, slaughter* : *water* : *flatter, matter* 622 b, 661 a, 758 a, 770 b, 789 a, 820 b. — *water* : *batter, clatter, flatter, matter, scatter* 56 b, 600 a, 625 a, 676 a, 731 a, 808 b, 814 b, 839 b. — *paragon* : *Aragon* : *war again* 631 a; *barren* : *warring* 11 a; *Paris* : *war is* 753 a. — *man* : *spawn* : *can* 777 a; *man* : *ataghan* : *Amaun* 251 a. *mansion* : *expansion* : *a stanch one* 814 b; *vaunt* : *Kant* : *jaunt* 771 a; *cantos* : *vaunt as* : *Atlantis* 783 b.

The rimes *all, ball, (re)call, fall, small, thrall* : *shall* (*,original*) 146 b, 160 b, 164 a, 546 b, 623 b, 815 b, 827 a are probably = μɛ ăl : μɛ ă, as well as the rime *calls* : *canals* 126 b. It should be noted, however, that *shall* is given with μɛ ăl by Johnston 1764 (according to Horn Gr. § 44); further that Webster 1789 gives »shol» (Ellis p. 1067) and Bch »shAlt» (Ellis p. 1080).

SWINBURNE. No cases.

Present E. ɔɔ : eə. 124

SPENSER. *ward, reward* : *fared, prepared, shared* 219 a, 550 b, 586 a. — *glorie* v. : *varie* v. 538 a is probably a rime μɛ ŏ : μɛ ă, as *glory* is given with μɛ ŏ by Hart, Jespersen p. 101 (cf. Gill : μɛ ŏ in *glorious* χ μɛ ǭ in *glory*); for *vary* cf. § 112.

POPE. *war* : *care, glare, compare* 33, 63, 293, 312, 399. *war* : *pair, mayor* 158, 400. *war* : *tear* v. 161. *war* : *prepare, bear* v. 156. — *reward* : *prepared* 254 [For *call* : *Baal* 407 cf. § 272].

BYRON. *reward* : *prepared* 172 a, 322 a.

SWINBURNE. No cases.

Present E. ɔɔ : ei. 125

SPENSER. *tale* s. : *call* : *overall* 338 a. — The rime *away* : *decay* : *day* : *Spau* (= spa) 71 a may be based upon some special pronunciation of »Spau».

BYRON. *paused* : *caused* : *chased* 729 a.

POPE. SWINBURNE. No cases.

Present E. ɔɔ : e. 126

SPENSER. No certain cases. In the rime *bereft* : *left* : *theft* : *oft* 266 a, *oft* no doubt stands for *eft;* cf. § 10.

POPE. BYRON. SWINBURNE. No cases [The rimes *Pall Mall* : μɛ ĕ (Pope 448, cf. § 123; Byron 742 b, 777 a) are of course = μɛ ĕ : μɛ ĕ, cf. § 123].

Present E. ɔɔ : iə. 127

POPE. *reward* : *appear'd* 378.

SPENSER. BYRON. SWINBURNE. No cases.

Present E. ou : ɔɔ.[1] 128

SPENSER. *saw* : *overthrow* s. : *below* : *throw* v. 302 a (Sc.-*aw*-forms of the -*ow*-words are not probable, cf. B. § 191).

roade pret. : *baude* s. 233 a (*roade* here possibly stands for *rade*, cf. § 112).

(*en*)*gross* : *cross, endoss, loss* 179 a, 474 a, 555 b. *boast, coast, host* (= army), *most* : *cost, lost*; *embossed, crossed, tossed* (all spelt

[1] For the sake of convenience I have regarded monosyllables such as *aloft, broth, dross, moss,* etc. as present E. ɔɔ- (= μɛ ŏth-) words, though they have [ɔ] (= μɛ ŏ) in present St. E. (cf. Horn Gr. § 59); while disyllables such as *foster, gospel,* etc. have been regarded as present E. ɔ- (= μɛ ŏ-) words (= in present St. E.).

-ost(e)) 25 a, 244 a, 278 b, 417 a, 418 a, 435 a, 449 a, 463 b, 515 b, 535 b, 543 a, 579 a. *post* s. & v. : *cost, lost, embossed* (spelt *-ost*) 159 a, 479 b. *ghost* : *tost* pp. : *post* s. 508 a. *loth* a. : *troth* s. : *both* : *moth* s. 90 a (cf. § 297) [The rimes *both, lo(a)th* a., *loathe* v., *oath, go'th* : *wroth* a. 87 b, 90 a, 135 b, 151 a, 207 a, 214 b, 230 b, 275 b, 301 a, 303 b, 375 a, 376 a, 394 b, and *wroth* : *loth* : *overblo'th* 194 b, *both* : *wroth* : *goth* 3 sg. : *know'th* 286 b (*wroth* has present E. ou ~ ɔɔ, according to Horn Gr. § 52), were probably = μ.ɛ ǭ : μ.ɛ ǭ and μ.ɛ ǭ : μ.ɛ ou respectively in Spenser's pronunciation; cf. Gill's »ö« in *wroth*, further B. § 100].

rote : *wrote* : *note* : *report* 132 a; *most* : *ghost* : *mine host* : *enforst* pp. 375 b.

abode, bode pret., *glode* pret., *load, rode* pret., *road, troad* s. (cf. § 41), *trode* pret. & pp., *yode* pret. : *broad, abroad* 78 b, 141 b, 155 b, 192 a, 205 a, 211 a, 249 b, 354 a, 378 b, 407 b, 418 b, 474 a, 516 b, 516 b, 560 a.

POPE. *engross* : *cross, moss, Ross* n. pr. 229, 252, 271 [Cf. *Charing-Cross* : *nos* (Lat.) 444]. *boast, coast, ghost, host, most* : *frost, lost, tossed* 14, 43, 61, 62, 62, 84, 88, 100, 114, 124, 170, 203, 205, 242, 294, 338, 386, 409, 461, 464, 481, 482, 482, 488, 492 [*oath* : *wroth* 142, cf. Spenser, above, was probably intended to be = μ.ɛ ǭ : μ.ɛ ǭ]. — *load, toad* : *abroad* 277, 280. *groats* : *Oats* 496.

BYRON. (*en-, dis-*) *closed, disposed, supposed* : *caused, paused* 711 b, 729 a, 828 a. *notion* : *ocean* : *precaution* 731 b.

thought : *remote* : *caught* : *sought* 194 a.

boat, petticoat, float, note, quote, remote, throat, wrote, oats : *brought, ought* v., *sought, thought* 188 b, 265 b, 285 b, 358 b, 652 a, 678 a, 703 b, 757 a, 758 b, 786 b, 808 a, 832 a.

close v. : *gloss* 54 b. *loss* : *Grose* n. pr. 741 b. *loss* : *cross* : *close* a. 656 b. *cross, dross, loss* : *gross* 615 a, 738 b, 740 a. *boast, coast, ghost, host, most, post, roast* : *accost* (201 a), *cost, lost, crossed, tossed* 6 a, 33 b, 48 a, 56 a, 58 a, 66 a, 67 a, 98 b, 99 a, 119 b, 144 b, 149 a, 156 a, 162 b, 180 b, 183 b, 184 b, 188 b, 189 b, 194 b, 195 b, 201 a, 215 b, 253 a, 254 b, 279 a, 281 a, 281 b, 292 b, 303 a, 329 a, 333 b, 343 b, 378 a, 632 b, 647 a, 649 a, 661 a, 669 b, 670 a, 676 a, 680 a, 752 b, 777 b, 826 a, 838 b. *both* : *broth, Visigoth, Goth* 139 a, 168 b, 836 a. *both* : *growth* : *broth* 664 a. — [The rimes *both, oath* : *troth* s., *wroth* 13 a, 21 b, 334 b, 751 b (for *wroth* cf. Spenser, above; *troth* has present E. ou ~ ɔɔ according to St. D.) were possibly = μ.ɛ ǭ : μ.ɛ ǭ in Byron's pronunciation (yet W. gives only o^4 in *troth, wroth*).]

abode, code, road, rode : *broad, abroad* 58 a, 348 a, 704 a, 804 b.

SWINBURNE. No cases. [The rimes *loth, oath, sloth* : *troth, wroth* L 85, TL 48, 102, B 74 are probably intended to be = present E. ou : ou; cf. above.]

Present E. ɔ : ou. 129

SPENSER. ME ō : ME ō. *anon* (spelt *-one*), *(for)gone* (spelt *-on* 590), *shone* pret. & pp. : *alone, bone, fone* (= pl. foes), *groan, moan, Pavone* (= peacock), *stone, throne, home* (472) (,*Chrysogone* n. pr., *-ion*) 20 a, 28 a, 41 b, 46 b, 66 a, 81 a, 92 a, 109 b, 157 a, 188 b, 207 a, 221 b, 222 b, 238 b, 351 b, 414 a, 461 b, 472 b, 491 a, 496 b, 503 b, 541 b, 553 b, 590 b. *Lone* n. pr. : *ygone* 289 b.

ME ŏ : ME ŏ. As such are to be considered the rimes ME ŏ : *gone, anon* (in these rimes both words are generally spelt *-on*), cf. B. § 100. I have found no rimes *shone* : ME ŏ in Spenser. — In *gone* Smith and Gill give ME ō (Ellis) [according to Dierberger § 57 also Cheke, Wallis, and Cooper; mistake?]; Bll gives ME ŏ (Hauck p. 23) as well as Mason (Brotanek p. XXXII) and the 18th c. orthoepists generally (e. g. Lediard, Kennick, Walker). *anon* is given with ME ŏ (~ ME ă) by Jones. *shone* is given with ME ŭ by Lediard; with ME ŏ by Kenrick and — as best pronunciation (~ ME ō) — by Walker, Smart, Stormonth, etc. (CD & St. D. give ME ō as the normal pronunciation).

ME ō : ME ou. *Chrysogone* : *upblone* : *outgone* 189 a. *alone* : *ygone* : *knowne* 429 b.

ME ŏ : ME ō. *Rocke* s. : *broke* pret. 146 a. — *upon, thereon* (,*-ion*) : *alone, stone* 200 a, 381 b, 541 a [cf. for rimes *on* : ME ō in Chaucer and Northern ME texts ten Br. (§ 58) and Luick (U. § 419; further e. g. § 448) respectively; Luick considers these rimes as correct in ME, = ME ō : ME ō, according to the principle discussed below § 268]. — Not certain are the following cases : *Opher* n. pr. : *cofer* 554 b (the *-o-* in *coffre* is »schwebend« in Chaucer according to ten Br. § 81); *pot* : *aflot* (= *afloat*) 539 b (cf. the spelling); *mote* : *got, hot, (al)lot, not* 236 b, 412 a (cf. § 42, *mote*).

ME ŏ : ME ou(?) *old* : *solde* pp. : *extold* pp. 433 b. — *extol* (only *extold* occurs in the rimes) may have a regular ME ŏ (>present E. ɔ) from being a late loan from Lat. (the first quotation in NED is from 1494); a 16th c. variant with ME ou (= in *toll* etc.) is however certainly possible [B. § 108 remarks to the rime given above : »Vor l + Kons. schiebt sich hier leicht ein (u) ein, entsprechend *old* etc.«]. An early Mod. [ou] can be the ground of CD's [ō] (χ NED etc. ME ŏ);

as well as of Price's [ō] (Ellis p. 1007), if he really has in mind this pronunciation of the word when giving it as an exception to the rule o|l = ou, cf. Ekw. § 304. — The rime *extold* : *world* 70b proves nothing; cf. the other rimes to *world* § 163.

POPE. μɛ ǭ : μɛ ǭ & ou. *shone* : *alone, stone, throne* 75, 114, 118, 118, 119, 119, 159, 166, 366, 377. *shone* : *own* 117, 312 [No rimes *shone* : μɛ ŏ].

μɛ ŏ : μɛ ǭ. *God, nod* : *abode, road, rode* 28, 35, 90, 107, 111, 118, 159, 160, 166, 170, 196, 204, 214, 225, 376, 396, 398, 418. *hogs* : *rogues* 441. *John, on* : *atone, stone, tone* 147, 389, 401. — Here belong probably also *gone* : *alone, throne, stone* 387, 459, 480 [cf. *gone* : *John, on,* 254, 381, 443, 463 (*gone* : *Addison* 472)].

μɛ ŏ : μɛ ou. *God, trod* : *bestowed, showed* 52, 129. *on* : *own* 294. Probably also *gone* : *own, unknown* 121, 294, 306.

130 BYRON. μɛ ŏ : μɛ ǭ. *mob, sob* : *Job* 738 b, 745 a. *problem* : *ennoble 'em* 628 b. *God, nod* : *abode, load, mode* 31 a, 77 a, 369 a, 547 b. *boggle* : *ogle* 622 b. *catalogue* : *vogue* : *clog* 821 a. *rock, knock(er)* : *broke, oak, awoke; joker, smoker* 600 b, 667 a, 677 b. *doctrine* : *yoked her in* 797 b. *folly* (‚*melancholy*) : *wholly* 637 a, 706 a. *gone* : *groan, (a)lone, stone, throne* 6 b, 30 a, 43 a, 43 b, 44 a, 54 b, 55 a, 58 a, 59 a, 110 b, 178 a, 193 b, 248 a, 249 a, 253 b, 263 b, 267 b, 269 b, 276 b, 282 a, 284 b, 300 b, 308 a, 309 a, 314 b, 315 b, 318 a, 339 a, 356 b, 365 b, 547 a, 727 b, 752 b, 792 b, 798 b, 831 a. *Bonn* : *gone* : *Cologne* 771 a. *(up)on* (‚*Solomon*) : *alone, stone, throne* 98 b, 105 b, 246 b, 337 b, 370 b, 373 a. *don't* : *won't* : *upon't* 706 a. *Ancona* : »*donna*» : *shone a* 696 b. *honours* : *donor's* 769 b. *hopes* : *stops* : *copes* 364 b. *cot, got, lot, not, sot* : *capote, coat, float, quote, remote, rote, smote, wrote* 132 b, 150 a, 196 b, 379 b, 749 a, 816 b.

μɛ ŏ : μɛ ou (: μɛ ǭ). *flow'd* : *abode* : *God* 232 a. *gone* : *own* : *grown* 654 a. *(up)on, John* : *alone, known, own* 172 b, 317 a, 726 a. *owner* : *donor* : *honour* 833 a. *shoulders* : *beholders* : *solders* 155 b.

dome : *bomb* 310 b, and *from* : *home* : *bomb* 743 b, are doubtful rimes. Of *dome* Walker mentions a pronunciation with o^2 (yet not in the edition of 1791). In *bomb* Walker gives $u^2 \sim o^4$; according to St. D. the word has disputed pronunciation in present E. : μɛ ŏ (usually) ~ [ŭ] ~ μɛ ǭ.

The rimes *shone* : μɛ ǭ & ou are probably based upon the μɛ ǭ- variant of *shone*, for which see § 129; though of course traditional influence is possible as well. The rimes are as follows: *shone* : μɛ ǭ 26 a, 37 b, 67 a, 78 a, 80 a, 200 b, 259 a, 260 a, 295 b, 318 a; *shone* : μɛ ou (: μɛ ǭ) 12 b, 12 b, 66 a, 208 b, 250 a, 315 a,

321 b, 324 a [To ɹɛ ŏ I have recorded only the rimes *shone* : *gone* 53 a, 261 b, 312 a, besides some cases *shone* : ɹɛ ŏ : other vowel, cf. this § (above), and §§ 154, 192, 207].

SWINBURNE. *God* : *abode* PB I : 136. *honeycomb* : *clomb* : *foam* : *from* PB II : 33. *upon* : *bone, stone* PB I : 271, 274. *alone* : *anon* PB I : 276. (-) *gone, shone, on,* »*che son*» : *alone, bone, stone* PB I : 284; CR 21; SBS 199; TB 111. (*there*)*of* : *clove, wove* PB I : 20, 123. — *own* : *agone* : *shone* : *alone* PB II : 193. *upon* : *blown* : *grown* PB I : 303.

The rime *throat* : *wote* pres. PB I : 272 contains the archaic *wote* with ɹɛ ǭ, cf. § 41.

For the rimes *shone* : ɹɛ ǭ TL 7, 13; *shone* : ɹɛ ou (: ɹɛ ǭ) TL 27, 81, 110, 233, CR 20, TB 47; cf. above, Byron [To ɹɛ ŏ I have recorded 23 rimes in Swinburne, besides some cases containing ɹɛ ŏ + other vowel, cf. this § (above) and § 154].

Present E. ɔ : ɔɔ.[1] 131

SPENSER. *begot* : *whot* (= hot) : *got* : *brought* 289 b. — *gotten* : *soften* : *often* 229 b.

In the rime *glory* : *storie* : *hory* : *sory* 424 a, »sory» has the regular ɹɛ ǭ (cf. Chaucer *soory*, Sweet HES p. 336). *glorie* : *sorie* 593 a may be = ɹɛ ǭ : ɹɛ ǭ or ɹɛ ŏ : ɹɛ ŏ, cf. § 124.

POPE. *abroad* : *rod* 275. *Sot* a. : *groat* 317. — *grot* : *thought* 487. — *unaw'd* : *God* 399. — *was* : *draws* 93, 470.

BYRON. *off-ing* : *scoffing* : *coffin* 790 b. *loss* : *philosopher, gossip, Ariosto* 101 b, 676 b, 685 a. — *before all* : *moral* 45 b. *glory* : *hoary* : *sorry* 156 b. — *god, odd, nod, trod* : (*a*)*broad* 738 a, 768 a, 815 b, 819 b. — *forgot, lot, not* : *ought, sought, wrought* 200 a, 698 b, 700 b. — *fraud* : *God* 374 a. *bother* : *author* 162 a. — *maudlin* : *twaddling* 107 a. *was* : (*be*)*cause, laws* 659 a, 663 b.

SWINBURNE. *prophet* : *of it* : *scoff it* : *doff it* A 184. — *not* : *sought, thought, wrought* PB I : 136, 207, 289, 296, 305; SBS 214; TL 42. — *not* : *thought* : *distraught* : *fought* : *spot* : *wrought* SBS 18. — *sundawn* : *thereon* PB I : 135. — *chrysophras* : *pause* : *was* PB I : 260.

Present E. ɔ : aa. 132

SPENSER. *Carle* : *quar'le* (< OF quar(r)el) : *marle* 143 a.

For *want* : *pant, plant* (& weak-stressed *-ant*, cf. B. § 184) 119 a, 370 a, 525 b, cf. § 280.

[1] Cf. § 128, foot-note.

For the rimes *was* : *ass* (601 b), *alas, brass, glass, grass, lass, mass* (< OE), *mass* (< OF), (-)*pass* (*Amyas, Capias, Placidas*) 14 b, 15 a, 28 b, 36 b, 37 b, 44 a, 44 b, etc. (88 cases), cf. § 310.

POPE. *was* : *pass* 329. — For *wanted* : *planted* 257 cf. § 280.

BYRON. *laurels* : *Charles* 371 a; cf. § 133. — *wander* : *Alexander* 170 b. *want* : *grant, pant, plant* 158 a, 235 b, 636 b, 711 a, 829 a, 830 a. — *was* : *ass* (4 cases), *alas, class, glass, grass, mass* (< OF), (-)*pass* 61 b, 63 a, 64 a, 119 a, 149 b, 157 b, 190 a, 207 b, 226 b, 241 b, 256 b, 302 a, 333 b, 358 a, 358 a, 368 b, 620 b, 650 b, 669 a, 698 a, 723 b, 730 b, 743 a, 767 a, 780 a, 790 a, 814 b, 821 b, 824 b. *wast* 2 sg. : *cast, classed, last, past* 162 a, 176 a, 361 b.

SWINBURNE. *wanted* : *panted* PB I:227. — *was* : *alas, glass, grass, pass* PB I:1, 24, 26, 148, 166, 212, 258, 268, 273, 288, 292, 298, 308; SN 7, 16, 125; SBS 65, 82; TL 87. *wast* 2 sg. : *fast, past* PB II: 58, 69; SN 22, 32.

133 **Present E. ɔ : æ.**

SPENSER. μɛ wă : μɛ ă. *swan, wan* : *ban, can* pres., *began, man, ran, scan, span* pret., *wan* pret. 53 b, 100 a, 109 b, 110 b, 118 b, 170 a, 185 a, 221 a, 240 b, 267 a, 271 a, 275 b, 324 a, 449 a, 477 b. *wand* s. : *band* s., *hand, land, stand* 246 b, 327 b, 339 b, 424 b, 525 a. *was* : *has* 134 a, 348 a, 552 a. *what* : *thereat, chat, flat, forgat* pret., *sat, that* 40 a, 189 b, 430 a, 466 a, 474 a. *wash* : *flash, scratch* 110 b, 357 b. *watch* : *attach, dispatch* 372 b.

μɛ ŏ : μɛ ă. *follie* : *jollie* : *dallie* 233 b. *anon* : *Gentleman* 519 a. *dishonour, (up)on her* : *banner, manner* 388 b, 573 b. *arrowe* : *sorrowe* 471 a. *batt* s. : *hott* a. : *lott* s. 506 a.

POPE. *swan* : *man* 236. *wand* s. : *hand, stand* 115, 408, 415. *wander* : *Mæander* 43, 478. *what* : *that* 321. *watch* : *thatch* 178.

BYRON. *washed* : *unabashed, clashed, dashed, lashed* 86 b, 662 a, 814 b. *watch* : *batch, catch, despatch, hatch, match, snatch, thatch* 144 a, 184 a, 219 a, 307 b, 372 a, 692 a, 739 a, 754 b, 762 a, 820 a. *squabble* : *rabble* 619 b. *quality* : *hospitality, liberality, (im)morality, reality* 617 a, 629 a, 716 b, 796 a, 798 b, 815 a, 834 a. *swamp* : *damp, lamp, stamp* 198 b, 656 b. *swan, wan* : *man, span, caravan, Franguestan* 156 a, 250 a, 256 a, 734 a. *wand* : *and, bland, expand, hand, land* 80 b, 103 b, 221 a, 634 a. *salamander* : *wander* 601 a. *want* : *scant* 166 b. *wants* : *ants* 172 a. *Levant* : *want* : *Alicant* 675 b. *quarrel* : *barrel* 703 a. *Suwarrow* : *marrow* 731 a. *was* : *as, has* 728 b, 795 a. *wassail* : *vassal* 831 b. *what* :

at, chat, fat, hat, sat pret., *sat* (Lat.), *that* 148 a, 148 a, 150 a, 163 a, 621 b, 632 b, 641 a, 678 b, 693 b, 718 a, 721 b, 730 b, 761 b, 779 a, 784 a, 817 b. *rattles* : *battles* : *what else* 793 a. *squatted* : *chatted* (: *decorated*) 705 a.

damages : *homages* 784 a. *bottle* : *throttle* : *cattle* 811 b. *Suwarrow* : *to-morrow* : *harrow* 737 a.

laurels : *quarrels* : *barrels* 640 a [cf. *quarrel(s)* : *laurel(s)* 70 a, 607 a; *moral* : *coral* : *laurel* 648 b; *laurels* : *Charles* 371 a (§ 132)]. In *laurel* Kenrick gives $a^5 \sim a^7$ (= present E. ɔɔ ~ ɔ), Buchanan »AA» (Ellis); Walker o^4. Byron may have used a long or a short vowel (or both); in any case no doubt equivalent in quality to his μɛ au. The same considerations apply to Byron's pronunciation of *warrior* (: *barrier* 607 a, 607 b) : W. a^3; present E. ɔ (regular) ~ ɔɔ (< assimilation to *war*).

SWINBURNE. *wan* : *began, man, ran* (*republican*) PB I: 263, 271, 281, 295; SBS 18; TL 21, 30 [Cf. rimes to weak-stressed vowel : e. g. *Persians* : *swans* PB I:263; *was* : *chrysophras, lampadias, Herodias* PB I:257, 271, 274].

Present E. ɔ : ei. 134

SPENSER. *was* : *case, chase, face, grace* 356 a, 376 b, 380 b, 528 a.

BYRON. *was* : *blaze* 335 a.

POPE. SWINBURNE. No cases.

Present E. ɔ : e. 135

SPENSER. *grovell* v. : *levell* v. 314 b is no doubt a rime μɛ ŭ : μɛ ĕ (see § 339). EO (Ellis p. 1077) has an etymologically clear μɛ ŭ in *grovel;* cf. NED . . . »6 *grovellynge, gruffelyng, grooveling*» . . . The present E. vowel, given by Kenrick etc., seems to be a spelling-pronunciation (cf. Horn, E. St, 30, 122).

BYRON. *warriors* : *fox-terriers* 732 b. Cf. § 133 (end).

POPE. SWINBURNE. No cases.

Present E. uw : ɔ. 136

SPENSER. μɛ o̤ : μɛ o̤ (cf. § 129). *shone* pret. : *Moone* s. 537 a.

POPE. No certain cases μɛ ǫ̣ : μɛ ŏ. *Charron* : *buffoon* 231 is doubtful, as it is impossible to tell what vowel Pope may have meant in *Charron*. For *buffoon*, cf. the rime to *noon* 252.

BYRON. *from* : *tomb* 750 a. *bonds* : *desponds* : *wounds* s. 627 a.

SWINBURNE. *room* : *from* : *tomb* : *womb* SN 72.

137 **Present E. uw : ou.**

SPENSER. A. μɛ ǫ̣ : μɛ ǭ (? cf. § 320). *goe* : *doe* v. 213 b. *doe* v. : *forgoe* 512 b. *thereto* : *go* 548 b. *thereunto* : *doe* v. : *undoe* : *forgoe* 357 a. *goe* : *doe* v. : *wooe* v. : *adoe* 285 a. *two* : *goe* : *foe* : *fro* 243 a. *so* : *thereto* : *go* 403 b. *fro* : *thereto* 259 b. *woe* s. : *doe* v. : *thereto* 401 b. *move, reprove* : *grove, Jove, rove* 295 b, 537 a.

B. μɛ ǫ̣ : μɛ ǫ̣. *Rome* : *tomb* 527 a (Bll has μɛ ǫ̣ in *Rome*, Hauck p. 17). *doole* s. [= dole(-ful); F. deuil]: *fool, pool, school, stool, tool* 147 a, 350 b, 395 a, 398 b (cf. B. § 108).

μɛ ǭ : μɛ ǭ Possibly *rose* pret. : *whose* : *those* 307 b (= B. § 100; Bll gives μɛ ǭ ~ μɛ ǫ̣ in *whose*, cf. Hauck p. 16; cf. also Hart, Jespersen p. 100); probably also the rimes μɛ ǭ : *choose, lose, loose* a. & v. (cf. B. §§ 171, 106, and further the spelling *loast* = loosed 539 b) — μɛ ǭ : *choose* (spelt *chose*) 34 a, 199 b, 344 b, 400 b, 406 b, 425 b, 493 b, 520 a, 560 a; + : *lose, loose* 166 a, 399 b; μɛ ǭ : *lose* 160 b, 248 b, 395 a, 467 b; μɛ ǭ : *loose* a. & v. (spelt *-ose*, ~ *-oo-*) 152 a, 153 a, 190 a, 224 a, 253 a, 254 a, 529 a; *engroste* : *coste* (= coast) : *lo'ste* (= loosed) : *disclo'ste* 176 b; *loast* (= loosed, NED) : *ghoast* 539 b.— In the rime *home* : *fome* s. : *gloome* v. 590 a, Spenser may have had in mind a »gˈǭ ne», connected with the Northern »gˈǭ ning» (present E. *gloaming*); the sense of the word (= gloam, NED) is in favour of this explanation. The spelling may of course be an alteration of the printer's, owing to his not knowing a form with [ǭ].

The rime *deow* s. (= dew) : *flow* v. 561 b seems to require a (not evidenced) **dow*, either formed according to ten Br. § 49 : OE ǣ, ēɔ | w > ME ę̄ ~ ā, ǭ, or else due to the analogy of the words of which such variants actually existed (e. g. rew s. ~ row, show ~ shew, strow ~ strew).

POPE. *foredoom* : *home* 78. *lose* : *chose* pp. 481. (*re*) *move, prove* : *grove, Jove* 14, 160, 161, 162, 318. — *billet-doux* pl. : *rows* s. 74 (cf. *billet-doux* sg. : *true* 74).

The rimes *do* : *so* 498, *do* : *show* 138 are uncertain, on account of Wallis' and Cooper's μɛ ǭ in *do* (Ellis p. 1006). — Rimes μɛ ǫ̣ :

μɛ ọ̄ are *Broome* n. pr., *(fore)doom* : *Rome* 66, 88, 370 (cf. e. g. Horn Gr. § 96, 4; Ellis p. 1014); *domes* : *hecatombs* 327; *rooms* : *honeycombs* 493 (Horn l. c., Ekw. § 292).

BYRON. *do, to, who* : *foe, (a)go, no, so, woe* 107 a, 178 b, 378 b, 541 a, 810 b. *do, two, who* : *bow* (OE boga), *know, below, show, throw, though* (: *foe*) 149 a, 160 b, 373 b, 709 a, 737 a, 751 b, 806 a. *abode* : *load* : *bestow'd* : *mood* 223 b. *spoke* : *smoke* : *Tooke* n. pr. 162 b. *doom, (en)tomb, whom* : *home, domos* (Lat.) (: *Rome*) 73 a, 110 b, 706 a, 820 b. *group, stoop, troop* : *hope, ope, Pope* 710 b, 725 b, 747 b. *lose, whose* : *foes, nose, rose, those, woes* 158 a, 195 b, 722 a. *choose, lose, whose* : *knows, shows, snows* (: *foes, those*) 172 b, 791 b, 808 a. *strove* : *remove* 28 a.

Correct rimes μɛ ọ̄ : μɛ ọ̄ are certainly *Rome* : *doom, tomb* 9 b, 108 a, 344 b, 607 b, 686 b, 697 b (still W. 1791 gives μɛ ọ̄ in *Rome*); probably also *dome* s. : *bloom, gloom, tomb, plume* 24 b, 30 b, 32 b, 140 b, 180 a, 240 a (Walker, later editions, mentions a London pronunciation of *dome* with μɛ ọ̄. Horn Gr. § 96,4 quotes this pronunciation from W. 1791 (first edition); I have not found it there). The rimes *canoe* : *foe, know* (*archipelago*) 340 a, 342 b, 352 a (345 a) may be = μɛ ọ̄ : μɛ ọ̄, as Bch gives μɛ ọ̄ in *canoe* (Ellis). Yet Kenrick and W. know only μɛ ọ̄; cf. Byron's rimes *canoe* : *grew* 353 b, *canoe* : *do* 616 a.

SWINBURNE. *abode* : *mood* PB I:289. *move* : *drove* pret. PB I:60; *woven* : *proven* : *cloven* SS 183. *youth* : *growth* TL 17.

Present E. uə : ɔɔ (ˌouə).[1] 138

SPENSER. *sore* v. (= *soar*) : *More* s. (= Moor) 526 b. *poor* (spelt-*ore*; *-oo-* 300 b, 405 a, 477 a, 578 a) : *before, therefore, hoar* a., *lore* s., (-)*more, oar, shore, sore, store, restore, wore* pp. 30 a, 60 b, 64 a, 64 b, 196 b, 213 b, 297 a, 300 b, 405 a, 477 a, 578 a. *afore* : *therefore* : *Paramore* 253 a; *floure* (= floor) : *Paramoure* 128 b; *Paramoure* : *succoure* : *floure* (= floor) : *poure* v. (= pour) 133 b.

[1] As present E. uə- words are here regarded also *moor* s. (and compounds), *moor* v., *More* s. (all given with present E. uə ~ ɔɔə in NED, only with [ū] in CD and St. D.), *Moore* n. pr. (not given in NED or CD; St. D. gives [ū], Flügel and Wenström – Lindgren give an [ō]- vowel ~ [ū]), *whore* (CD and St. D. give an [ō]- vowel; Flügel gives an [ō]- vowel ~ [ū]: »geziert, bes. theatr.»). W. 1791 transcribes all these words (*Moore* n. pr. is not mentioned) as »o͝o͝r», but he mentions a pronunciation = »more» of *moor* s. and *More* s. — I give under this heading also the rimes present E. ɔɔ : *paramour*, though *-our* has not the stress in this word in present E. Cf. § 143, foot-note.

POPE. *Matadores* : *Moors* 79. *poor* : *door, floor* 303, 487. *poor* : *store, yore* 145, 240, 250, 255, 293. *whore* : *door* (441), *four* (331), *adore, more, explore, score, shore, store, restore* 94, 143, 233, 234, 257, 329, 331, 332, 339, 339, 414, 414, 441. *whores* : *abhors* 325 [cf. *whore* : *Moore* n. pr. 273, 283, 498]. *amours* : *doors* 147.

BYRON. *paramour* : *o'er* 178 b; *nor* : *paramour* : *store* 727 a. *poor* : *hoar, more, shore* 171 b, 626 b. *unmoor* : *shore* 249 a; and (:present E. ouə) *mooring* : *lowering* 56 b. *Moor* : *pour*; *door*; (*corridor*), *before, gore, o'er, shore, store* 98 a, 168 a, 168 b, 192 b, 197 a, 221 a, 260 b, 266 a, 290 a. *Moore* n. pr. : *pour*; *o'er, shore, sore, restore, yore* 100 b, 100 b, 109 b, 115 b, 117 b, 122 b. *Moore* n. pr. : *nor* 648 b. *whore* : *more, shore, sore* 128 b, 144 b, 688 b. *whored* : *lord* 782 a.

SWINBURNE. *moorland* : *foreland* : *norland* PB II : 164. — *whored* : *lord* SBS 35 [Rimes *whore* : Walker o¹r not collected].

139 **Present E. u : uw.**

SPENSER. *good, hood* s., *womanhood*, (-)*stood, wood* s. : *brood* s., *food, mood, rood* s., *wood* a. 23 a, 34 b, 40 a, 63 b, 76 b, 116 a, 167 b, 245 b, 276 b, 282 a, 286 b, 308 b, 311 a, 385 a, 402 a, 414 b, 419 b, 452 b, 501 a, 525 b. *mood* : *stood* : *woo'd* pp. 324 a. *foot* : *boot* v., *boot* s., (*un*)*soote* a. & adv. 92 a, 433 b, 455 b, 474 a, 485 a. — All correct; cf. §§ 320, 326.

POPE. *good, wood* s. : *food, rood* 149, 209, 210, 442. *good* : *endued, pursued, rude* 208, 215, 445. *full* : *rule* 53.

BYRON. *good, goods, hood, Hood* n. pr., (-*hood*,) (-)*stood, wood* s.; *could, should, would* : *brood, food, mood, rood* s.; *conclude, en-, subdued, feud, renewed, prude, rude, sued, en-, pursued, intrude, viewed* (, *solitude* etc.) 102 a, 108 a, 113 b, 122 b, 150 a, 157 b, 178 b, 183 a, 188 b, 199 a, 218 b, 222 a, 225 a, 243 a, 248 a, 262 b, 276 b, 280 b, 286 a, 304 a, 307 b, 328 a, 336 a, 338 a, 345 a, 350 a, 372 b, 376 a, 625 a, 631 b, 636 a, 656 b, 658 b, 679 b, 689 b, 692 a, 702 b, 707 a, 725 b, 727 b, 753 b, 757 b, 767 b, 774 b, 776 a, 800 b, 838 b. *brook, crook, hook, look, nook, shook, took* : *duke, rebuke* 88 a, 119 a, 151 b, 181 b, 644 a, 783 a, 783 a, 802 a, 809 b, 810 a, 821 b. *foot* : *boot, root, brute, acute, dispute, mute, pollute. fruit, suit*; *through't* 136 b, 187 a, 283 a, 316 a, 317 b, 337 a, 349 b, 604 a, 607 a, 692 b, 707 a, 747 a, 748 b. *duty* : *booty* : *sooty* 775 b.

John Bull, full : *fool, school* 127 b, 735 a, 783 a; *bully* s. : *truly* : *newly* 802 a.

SWINBURNE. *good, stood, wood* (, *-hood*) : *brood, food, mood*; *elude, imbrued, subdued* (, *multitude*) PB I : 249, 290; SSp 128; SBS 160; TL 19, 245; L 79, 106, 110; TB 28, 36; MH 48. (-)*foot* : *-root, fruit, pursuit* PB I : 29; SBS 28, 188; AC 4. *woman* : *human* PB I : 121.

Present E. u : ɔ. 140

SPENSER. No cases.

POPE. *wood* : *God* 175, 212. *woman* : *uncommon* 478.

BYRON. *produce* : *a good use* 768 b. *brook it* : *pocket* 773 a. (*un*)*common* : *woman* 154 b, 633 b, 807 b, 810 a. — The rime *bosom* : *blossom* 547 b is somewhat uncertain. Bch gives μɛ ŏ (Ellis) in *bosom* (= Bll : Luick, Anglia 14, 281 foot-note); W. only μɛ o̤; Kenrick μɛ o̤ ~ μɛ ŭ (= present E. ɐ); besides the present E. u may have been used in Byron's time. It is impossible to tell which pronunciation Byron had in view in this rime.

SWINBURNE. *bosom* : *blossom* PB I : 86, 96, 177, 200, 229; PB II : 81; SS 70, 110; SBS 61, 80, 92. The rimes are probably only emergency rimes present E. u : ɔ. They can hardly be interpreted as rimes present E. ɐ : ɔ (which are rather numerous in Swinburne), as the pronunciation ɐ in *bosom* (= Kenrick) is only vulgar in present E. (Storm p. 379).

Present E. u : ou. 141

SPENSER. μɛ o̤ : μɛ o̤ (?). *shooke* pret. : *broke* pret. : *stroke* s. : *wroke* pp. 265 a. *looke* inf : *broke* pret. : *spoke* pret. : *tooke* pret. 309 b. *mistooke* pret. : *broke* pret. 332 b. Gill gives μɛ o̤ in *shook, took, look*; Bll μɛ o̤ ~ μɛ o̤ in *took* (Hauck p. 20). Cf. B. §§ 100, 105; Grundr. § 103.

Correct, = μɛ o̤ : μɛ o̤, is probably *strooke* pret. : *smooke* s. (= smoke) : *looke* s. : *shooke* pret. 350 a; cf. Smith's »it smokes» with μɛ o̤, Ellis p. 903; B. § 101; Luick U. § 469.

μɛ ou : μɛ ou (§ 324). *could, should, would* : *bold, fold* s. (= pen), *unfold, manifold, gold, hold* s. & v., *behold, old,* (*un*)*told*; *mould* (Rom.) 26 b, 38 b, 47 a, 48 a, 116 a, 126 b, 221 b, 280 a, 280 b, 313 b, 322 a, 322 a, 327 b, 364 a, 383 a, 406 a, 496 a, 516 a, 543 b, 596 a, 600 a.

POPE. *look* : (*be*)*spoke* 130, 148, 169, 406. *strook* : *broke* pret. 155.

BYRON. *smoking* : *looking* : *stroking* 752 b. *woman* : *Roman, no man* 58 b, 615 a, 793 b.

In the rime *Lord Coke* : *look* : *nook* 825 b, *Coke* has [ŭ]; (cf. St. D. : present E. u ~ ou).

SWINBURNE. No cases.

142 **Present E. au : u.**

POPE. *proud* : *good* 328.

SPENSER. BYRON. SWINBURNE. No cases.

143 **Present E. auə : uə.**[1]

SPENSER. *flower, lower, tower* : *conjure, endure, recure, sure* 127 b, 346 a, 541 b.

bower, lower, devour, flour, flower, deflower, hour, power, stour, tower (all spelt *-ow-*; occasionally *-ou-*) : *Belamour, Blandamour, Paramour, Scudamour* [, *conqueror, warrior*] (all spelt *-ou-*; except *Paramowre* 153 a) 99 a, 108 a, 153 a, 167 b, 169 a, 191 a, 192 b, 209 b, 237 a, 253 a, 255 a, 275 a, 276 b, 283 b, 406 a, 418 a, 432 b, 456 a, 493 b, 511 b, 513 a, 582 b, 605 b. *Blandamour* : *recoure* (= recover, trans., cf. § 46) 277 a. *Toure* n. pr. : *Paramoure* : *flowre* : *stowre* 159 a [For rimes to present E. weak-stressed ME-ūr (= the Rom. ending *-our*), see B. § 138].

The rimes *yours* : *bowers, powers, stours* 34 a, 581 b, 590 b are no doubt = μɛ ū : μɛ ū, cf. ten Br. § 49; Ellis pp. 910, 1018.

POPE. *sour* : *poor* 291.

BYRON *paramour* : *hour* 324 b; *tambour* : *hour* 259 a. — *hour* : *bower* : *Moore* 637 b (cf. § 322).

SWINBURNE. *paramour, Triamour* : *flower, hour, our, power, shower* PB II : 33; L 41, 69; TL 32, 127; TB 29.

144 **Present E. au : uw.**

SPENSER. μɛ ū : μɛ ǭ. *thereto* : *doe* (=do) : *to* (=too) : *disavow* 385 a. *brood* s. : *food* : *proud* : *mood* 573 a. *about, out*; *Colin Cloute* n. pr. : *root* s. (spelt *-roote*) 471 a, 485 a, 541 a.

μɛ ū : μɛ ū. *mouth* : *drouth* : *couth* 118 a; *uncouth* : *mouth* 473 b; *wowed* (=wooed) : *vowed* 560 a (cf. § 46); *swowne* s. & v. (=swoon) : μɛ ū 16 a, 178 a, 184 b, 188 b, 272 a, 320 a; *swound* s. (=swoon) : μɛ ū 46 a, 162 b, etc.; *wound* s. & inf. : μɛ ū 12 b, 14 a, 22 b, 46 a, etc. — (*un*)*couth* has here the regular μɛ ū. *woo* is generally rimed with μɛ ǭ; *wound, swound* have only μɛ ū in Spenser. Beside *swowne* Spenser has the form *swone*, rimed :

[1] I give, under this heading, also the rimes *paramour* etc., *tambour, Moore* n. pr.: present E. auə (cf. § 138, foot-note), and the rimes *yours*: present E. auə.

μɛ ǭ 389 a, see § 192. Cf. B. § 185, Luick U. § 140, Ekw. § 319, foot-note (for *woo, swoon*). The rimes *rowme* (=room) : *renowme* (=renown) 183 a, 222 b are uncertain. B. § 130 is of opinion that the spelling *-ow-* implies μɛ ū in both words.

POPE. *cowl, owl* : *fool* 221, 374. *mouth* : *youth, truth* 473, 484. The rimes *wound* s. & inf. : *(re)bound, found, ground, sound* s. 27, 33, 34, 42, 86, 101, 179, 312, 484, 492 (*wound* is rimed only : μɛ ū) are correct rimes μɛ ū : μɛ ū; EO and Bch give μɛ ū in *wound* (Ellis p. 1082). *brows* : *ooze* s. 388 may be meant as μɛ ū : μɛ ū; Jones seems to prescribe μɛ ū in *ooze*, cf. Ekw. § 333.

BYRON. *drouth, mouth, south* : *uncouth, youth* 360, 618 b, 145 695 a, 761 b. *mouth* : *youth* : *soothe* 662 b.

prow(s) : *canoe(s)* 341 a, 351 a may be meant as rimes μɛ ǭ : μɛ ǭ or possibly μɛ ǭ : μɛ ǭ; in *prow* W. 1791 and Smart mention μɛ ǭ (~ μɛ ū); for *canoe* see § 137. — In the rime *found* : *swoon'd* : *ground* 646 b Byron may have had in view the old μɛ ū in *swoon* (cf. § 144; *swound* inf. »obsolete or provincial English», St. D.); but of course the rime can be purely traditional. The rimes *route* s., *wound* s. & inf. : μɛ ū were certainly felt by Byron as correct rimes μɛ ū : μɛ ū; W., and St. D. still, mentions this pronunciation in both words (beside the usual μɛ ǭ). The rimes are as follows : *route* : *about, out, doubt, knout* 170 a, 618 b, 814 a, 821 b; *wound* s. & v. : μɛ ū 24 a, 86 a, 183 a, 186 b, 223 b, 237 b, 241 b, 250 b, 265 b, 281 b, 294 b, 301 b, 308 b, 316 b, 317 a, 317 b, 317 b, 323 a, 630 b, 692 b, 737 a, 739 a, 739 b, 742 b, 799 a, 811 b, 836 b.

SWINBURNE. *mouth* : *youth* SSp 18. — For *wound* : μɛ ū SN 43, SBS 97, cf. above, Byron.

Present E. au : ɔ. 146

SPENSER. POPE. No cases.

BYRON. *polish* : *owlish* 101 b. Here may also be mentioned *blonde* (F.) : *monde* (F.) : *ground* 809 b.

SWINBURNE. *vermilion* : *shone* : *renown* : *upon* PB II : 206 (Villon, cf. § 1).

Present E. au : ou. 147

SPENSER. μɛ ū : μɛ ou. *now* : *grow, low* a. 526 b, 553 b. *knowne* : *downe* adv. : *crown* 176 b. *howle* v. : *owle* : *sowle* 257 a. *behold* : *fold* s. : *enrould* : *hould* (=howled) 245 b.

couch : *reproch* : *broch* v. : *approch* 162 b is no doubt a rime ɹɛ o̤ : ɹɛ o̤, as there are no other rimes ɹɛ ū : ɹɛ o̤. For ɹɛ o̤ in *couch*, see Luick, Anglia 16, 504.

POPE. *bough, brow, now, thou*; *spouse* (130) : *blow* s., *bow* s., *below, flow, glow, grow, know, show* 67, 130, 159, 168, 195 252, 463, 502. *crown, down* s., *gown, town*; *found* : *own, (un)known, thrown* 60, 74, 119, 145, 158, 170, 256, 293, 322, 322, 472, 481.

brows, vows : *compose, goes* 174, 482. *down* adv., *frown, gown, town* : *alone, stone, throne* 115, 182, 365.

The rimes *bough* : ɹɛ ou 140, 171, 175 are somewhat uncertain, because [o̤] is recorded in *bough* by 18th c. orthoepists; cf. Luick, Anglia 16, 494, Ekw. § 316 ff. Yet, of course, the rimes do not necessarily imply that Pope had in view this pronunciation of *bough*; cf. *bough* : *vow, allow* 21, 174.

148 BYRON. *bough, bow, brow, enow* (69 b), *how, now, plough, thou*; *allow, endow, (a)vow* : »*ow*» (? 745 a), *bestow, blow, bow, flow, glow, know, (be)low, row* s., *show, slow, sow* v., *I trow* (69 b), *throw, though* 12 a, 13 a, 18 a, 21 b, 21 b, 47 b, 63 a, 69 b, 76 b, 104 b, 110 a, 177 a, 179 b, 185 a, 196 a, 203 a, 204 a, 208 b, 209 b, 216 b, 238 a, 241 a, 241 b, 244 b, 251 b, 274 a, 289 a, 307 b, 317 a, 321 b, 342 b, 349 b, 350 b, 362 b, 367 a, 368 a, 620 b, 633 a, 683 a, 690 b, 691 b, 712 b, 713 b, 721 a, 722 b, 726 a, 728 a, 728 b, 734 b, 739 a, 744 b, 745 a, 753 a, 759 b, 764 b, 765 a, 772 b, 787 a, 799 a, 813 b, 827 b, 833 b. *brow* : *below* : *own* 225 b. *shroud* : *cloud* : *glow'd* : *allow'd* 241 b. *crown, down, drown, frown, gown, renown, town* : *own, grown, known, shown, thrown* 4 a, 69 b, 83 a, 155 b, 164 b, 227 b, 633 a, 653 a, 655 b, 686 b, 746 a, 753 b, 766 a, 776 a, 814 a. — *brow, now* : *foe, (a)go, so, woe* (: *flow, below, show, snow, overthrow*) 157 a, 208 b, 230 b, 701 a, 747 a, 823 a. *down* : *own* : *groan* 693 a. *close* : *rose* : *bows* s. 838 a. — *cowl, foul, owl* : *soul* 347 a, 831 b, 831 b. *howl* : *jowl* : *cowl* 155 b. *cowl* : *soul* : *unroll* 378 a. *fowl* : *roll* : *Espagnole* 824 a. *soul* : *stole* pret. : *cowl* 840 b. *foul* : *soul* : *hole* : *control* 190 b.

The rimes *prow* : *below, slow* 246 a, 345 a, and *prowls* : *rolls* 22 b (cf. *howl* : *prowl* : *foul* 758 a) may be ɹɛ o̤ : ɹɛ o̤. For *prow* cf. § 145. *prowl* has only ɹɛ o̤ according to Kenrick, and this pronunciation is mentioned as a variant by W. 1791; cf. Koeppel p. 45.

SWINBURNE. *bough, brow* : *glow, grow, know* PB I : 244; SBS 280. *down* : *sown* pp. PB I : 290. *growth* : *mouth* PB II : 197 (Villon, cf. § 1). *mouth* : *loth* PB I : 136, 277.

Present E. au : ɔɔ. 149

POPE. *out* : *thought* 474.

BYRON. *withdrawn* : *down* : *frown* 710 b.

SPENSER, SWINBURNE. No cases.

Present E. auə : ɔɔ (,ouə). 150

SPENSER. *bowr* : *doore* 53 a. *owre* (= ore) : *howre* : *powre* s. 177 a. *powre* s. : *flowre* (= floor) : *stowre* s. : *devoure* 391 b. *poure* v. : *floure* (= floor) : *power* : *devoure* 575 b.

The rimes *pour* v. (spelt *poure*, *powre*) : *bower*, *devour*, *dower*, *flower*, *deflower* (289 b), *power*, *scour*, *shower*, *stour*, *tower* 124 a, 125 a, 168 a, 289 b, 342 b, 362 a, 491 a, 502 b, 503 b, 507 a, 596 b, 604 b are correct, = μɛ ū : μɛ ū, cf. § 293.

POPE. *power* : *adore*, *more*, *o'er* 13, 74, 220, 339.

The rimes *shower* : *pour* v. 27, 164, 377 are probably = μɛ ū : μɛ ū, cf. § 293.

BYRON. *bower*, *devour*, *hour*, *lower* v., *power* : *door*, *floor*; *adore*, *more*, *restore*, *soar*; *four* 2 b, 368 a, 374 b, 702 b, 708 b.

cower, *flower*, *hour*, *power* : *lower*, *slower* 215 a, 296 b, 677 a. *bestower* : *shore* : *power* 367 a. — For the rimes *pour* v. : *hour*, *shower* s., *coward* 42 b, 64 b, 88 a, 147 a, 268 a, 318 a, cf. § 293.

SWINBURNE. No cases.

Present E. ɐ ; au. 151

SPENSER. No certain cases μɛ ŭ : μɛ ū. *thus* (,*hideous*, *vitious*) : *house* 218 a, 223 a (as well as the numerous rimes *house* : weak-stressed ending *-ous*, see B. § 139; other cases 493 a, 509 b, 527 b) may be rimes μɛ ŭ : μɛ ŭ, due to a variant of *house* with shortened vowel; cf. B. § 139. *Mount* s. : *front* 66 a is probably based on the ME ū - variant *frount*, cf. B. § 142 (*front* occurs only in this rime). *wount* a. (= wont) : *recount* : *surmount* 131 a may be a rime μɛ ū : μɛ ǭ; cf. § 334, B. § 125. *bough* s. : *enough*, *tough*; *rough* 108 b, 576 b are correct rimes μɛ ū : μɛ ū or μɛ ŭf : μɛ ūf, according to Luick, Anglia 16, 490 ff.

POPE. No cases.

BYRON. *hundred*, *wonder* v. : *founder* v. 613 b, 789 b. *front*, *wont* (, *Passamont*) : *count*, (*dis*)*mount* 195 a, 372 b, 376 b. *but* : *shut* : *doubt* 668 b.

SWINBURNE. *brows* : *does* : *calamus* PB I:260. *doth* 3 sg. : *mouth*, *south* PB I:4, 29, 277, 283, 294, 306, 319.

152 **Present E. ʊ : u.**

SPENSER. *dull* : *full* 500 b. *wolfe* : *gulfe* s. 474 b. *but, rebut, cut, englut* : *put* 41 a, 89 a. *brush, gush, rush* : *bush, push* 26 a, 69 b, 93 b, 157 b, 216 b, 452 b.

blood (spelt *-oud* 14 a, 263 a, 266 a, 299 a), *flood* : *good, goods* s., *(with)stood, wood* s. 14 a, 23 a, 30 b, 48 b, 58 a, 58 b, 71 a, 74 b, 98 a, 110 b, 151 b, 152 a, 173 a, 184 b, 186 a, 210 a, 240 a, 240 b, 244 b, 263 a, 266 a, 282 b, 287 b, 288 b, 290 a, 299 a, 305 b, 365 a, 368 b, 372 b, 381 a, 434 a, 492 b, 496 a, 496 b, 515 a, 538 a, 550 b, 578 a, 581 a, 597 b, 601 a.

Woods : *buds* s. 458 a. *budde* v. : *good* 481 a. — *Lud* n. pr. : *good* 136 a. *flood* : *mud* s. : *blood* : *good* 302 b.

POPE. *dull* : *full* 397, 421, 464.

blood, flood : *good, (with)stood, wood* s. 24, 32, 35, 35, 38, 39, 43, 44, 57, 68, 91, 95, 101, 102, 108, 116, 117, 131, 135, 160, 161, 168, 172, 173, 198, 210, 211, 250, 263, 492. — *blood* : *could* 128.

BYRON. *sudden* : *pudding* : *mud in* 775 b. *full* (*,beautiful*), *pull; bullet* : *annul, cull* v., *dull, lull; gullet* 45 a, 153 a, 647 a, 671 a, 700 a, 728 b, 738 b, 794 a, 803 b, 804 b, 806 b. *gulf* : *wolf* 313 a, 328 a. *a dumb one* : *woman* 676 b. *but, cut, hut, shut; mutton* : *put* 632 b, 667 a, 675 a, 723 b, 778 a, 829 b. *blush, brush, flush, gush; concussion, discussion, Russian* : *bush, push; cushion* 330 b, 737 a; 765 a, 766 b, 769 b, 809 a.

blood, flood : *good, (-)stood, wood* s. 19 a, 19 b, 60 a, 167 a, 250 a, 250 a, 252 a, 260 a, 289 b, 310 a, 323 a, 350 a, 354 b, 371 b, 799 b. *hood* : *blood* : *should* 840 b.

blood : *mud* : *good* 714 b. *truculent* : *succulent* : *look you lent* 762 a. *but* : *put* : *foot* 692 a.

SWINBURNE. *blood, flood* : *good, hood, stood, wood* s. PB I: 27, 83, 164, 262, 273, 273, 282, 283, 296; PB II:75; AC 49, 82; SN 7, 21; TL 17, 21, 140; TB 108.

153 **Present E. ʊ : (j)uw.**

SPENSER. *blood, flood* : *brood, food, mood* 17 b, 171 a, 188 b, 197 a, 260 b, 328 a, 502 a, 504 b, 539 b, 560 b, 606 a. *woo'd* : *blood* 509 a. Equivalent to these is the rime *food* : *feood* (= feud) : *blood* : *brood* 232 b, cf. § 80. — *(-)come, some, -some* : *bloom, broom, doom, groom, room, tomb; whom, womb* 62 a, 86 a, 86 b, 227 a, 263 b, 281 a, 299 b, 318 a, 340 a, 362 b, 402 b, 519 a, 534 b,

588 b, 590 b, 600 b [Cf. *Christendome* : *some* 474 b]. — *love* (spelt *-oo-* 162 a), *above, dove* : *behove,* (-)*move,* (-)*prove* 7 b, 27 a, 30 a, 32 a, 35 a, 56 b, 85 a, 88 b, 90 a, 99 b, 103 b, 119 a, 133 b, 134 b, 158 b, 158 b, 162 a, 167 a, 168 a, 168 b, 189 a, 203 a, 204 b, 208 b, 211 a, 222 b, 227 a, 229 a, 229 b, 230 a, 237 b. 239 b, 239 b, 252 b, 261 a, 261 a, 264 a, 268 a, 268 b, 273 a, 274 a, 274 b, 276 a, 276 b, 279 a, 279 a, 293 a, 347 b, 366 a, 373 a, 376 a, 412 b, 435 b, 446 a, 447 a, 454 b, 464 a, 493 b, 501 b, 516 a, 535 a, 545 b, 559 a, 583 b, 586 a, 587 a, 587 b, 589 b, 590 a, 591 a, 593 a, 599 a, 599 a, 601 a, 601 b, 606 b; equivalent are probably the rimes *love* : *hove* inf. : *move* 21 a; *love* : *dove* : *hove* inf. : *move* 586 b; see § 44. — *fordonne* pp. : *soone* : *boone* 197 a. — *groome* s. : *come* : *somme* s. (= sum) 323 a. *soon* : *donne* pp. : *wonne* pp. 321 a. *Moone* s. : *Sunne* : *runne* s. 327 a.

The rime *covet* : *renew it* 549 b is probably = μɛ ō̤ : μɛ ew. A variant of *covet* with μɛ ō̤ — though not evidenced, cf. Gill : μɛ ŭ — is not improbable, as the vowel quantity of Rom. words was very unsettled in early Mod. E., cf. § 245 foot-note; NED records a 16th c. form *coouet.*

POPE. *blood, flood* : *food* 23, 195, 213, 214. *blood* : *embru'd* 168. *come* : *doom, room; tomb, womb* 39, 78, 101, 156, 212, 331, 332, 476, 480. *love, above, dove* : (-)*move,* (-)*prove* 19, 20, 21, 21, 22, 27, 34, 35, 43, 43, 44, 44, 45, 52, 62, 64, 92, 99, 99, 100, 100, 101, 103, 103, 104, 106, 106, 107, 108, 109, 109, 110, 112, 112, 123, 133, 136, 139, 143, 149, 151, 152, 167, 175, 176, 179, 211, 232, 234, 240, 252, 265, 272, 275, 279, 296, 309, 325, 325, 341, 456, 457, 459, 459, 462, 468, 482, 482, 502. — *dull, skull* : *fool, school* 64, 94, 321, 343.

BYRON. *blood, flood* : *food, mood, rood* 239 b, 251 a, 265 b, 329 a, 336 a, 366 a, 658 a. *proof* : *enough* : *hoof* 376 b. *come, some* : *doom, tomb* 65 b, 161 a, 368 b. *presume* : *doom* : *some* 701 a. *summit* : *overcome it* : *entomb it* 775 a. *love, above, dove, glove* : (-)*move,* (-)*prove* 5 a, 5 a, 6 b, 7 a, 9 a, 9 a, 19 a, 19 b, 23 b, 24 a, 26 a, 27 a, 30 b, 38 a, 42 b, 46 a, 46 b, 48 b, 50 a, 53 a, 54 a, 57 a, 63 b, 64 a, 69 a, 74 b, 77 a, 88 a, 104 a, 104 b, 110 b, 110 b, 184 b, 188 a, 202 b, 203 a, 215 a, 227 a, 236 b, 254 b, 264 b, 274 b, 275 b, 288 b, 308 b, 311 a, 328 a, 346 a, 358 b, 362 a, 374 a, 537 b, 537 b, 619 b, 638 a, 670 b, 671 b, 674 a, 678 a, 692 a, 699 b, 712 a, 712 b, 762 b, 763 a, 770 a, 813 a, 814 b, 815 b. *lover of* : *Souvaroff* 734 b. — *beautiful* : *dull* : *school* 668 b. *discussion, Russian* : *Andalusian; -ution* 101 a, 727 a, 796 a.

SWINBURNE. *blood* : *food, mood, rood* PB I:269, 295; SBS 120, 156, 256. *love, above, dove* : (-)*move,* (-)*prove* PB I:40, 93, 198; PB III:118, 181; SS 23; A 188; SBS 41, 60, 165, 192, 192, 192, 196; TL 5, 8, 9, 11, 16, 22.

154 **Present E. ɐ : ɔ.**

SPENSER. [For instances of the numerous rimes present E. ɔ (& ɐ) : weak-stressed endings *-on, -ion,* cf. B. § 142; other cases occur 537 b, 552 b, 554 b.]

μɛ ŭ : μɛ ŏ. *overcommen* pp. (= -come) : *commen* inf. 338 a.

μɛ ŏ : μɛ ǭ. *one* : *occasion* : *upon* 98 b. *attone* adv. : *don* inf. (present E. ɔ) : *on* 324 a.

μɛ ǭ : μɛ ō (§§ 129, 332). *one, none, attone* adv. : *anon* (spelt *-one*), *gone, shone* pret. 13 a, 128 a, 158 a, 254 b, 257 b, 428 a, 468 a, 471 a.

μɛ ŏ : μɛ ŏ (? § 335). *among* (+ *sprong* 146 a, cf. § 48) : *long, along, song* s., *strong, throng, wrong* 15 a, 130 b, 146 a, 192 b, 362 b, 419 a, 456 b, 481 a, 485 a, 536 b, 548 b, 559 a, 560 a, 588 a. *dong* s. (= dung), *tong(e)* (= tongue) (+ *hong* 36 a, 46 b, cf. § 48) : *long, along, prolong, song* s., *strong, wrong* 11 a, 23 a, 36 a, 46 b, 66 a, 98 a, 122 a, 421 b, 606 b. For the rimes *gon* (= gone) : *begon* pret. sg. (= began) 140 a, *thereon* : *-upon* : *won* pp. 401 a, cf. §§ 43, 129.

POPE. *flood* : *nod* 412. — *shone* : *none* 370. *none* : *gone* 323. *one* : *John, on* 177, 318. — *sun* : *upon* : *none* 57. — *run, sun* : (*up*)*on* 164, 180, 250, 319. *tongue, young* : *long, along, song, strong, wrong* 74, 100, 221, 311, 320, 320, 389 [*Addison* : *gone* 472. *Gormogon* : *one* 421. *Solomon* : *one, sun* 140, 141].

The rimes *front* : *on't* 258; *other* : *pother* 291 may be considered as correct (= μɛ ŏ : μɛ ŏ & μɛ ŭ : μɛ ŭ respectively). μɛ ŏ in *front* — still in use in present E. according to Ellis p. 1043 (cf. Horn Gr. § 64) — is given by Gill, Bch, and Sheridan (cf. Koeppel p. 54) as well as by Walker 1791 (~ μɛ ŭ), who however restricts its use to solemn poetry. *pother* is given with μɛ ŭ by Jones, cf. Ekw. p. 113, and by Kenrick.

BYRON. *body* : *bloody* 752 a. — *object* : *subject* : *project* 832 b. *judgment* : *lodgment* 649 b. *enough, rough, stuff* : *of* 223 a, 366 b. *offer'd* : *proffer'd* : *suffer'd* 724 a. *introduction* : *construction* : *concoction* 793 a. *Tom* : *some* 106 b. *the Commons* : *summons*

71 b. *one, none, done, fun, gun, begun, run, sun, son, shun, ton, won* : *shone* pret. (547 b, 820 b), *gone, anon, (up)on, John, Doctor Donne* (69 b), *honour* (622 b, 765 b), (*Acheron, Ilion, Macedon, skeleton*) 55 b, 56 a, 61 b, 69 b, 76 a, 83 b, 107 b, 114 a, 118 b, 128 b, 154 b, 161 b, 163 a, 170 a, 172 a, 177 b, 182 a, 196 b, 197 a, 209 b, 210 a, 218 a, 225 b, 236 a, 238 b, 248 b, 254 a, 273 a, 274 b, 285 b, 312 b, 315 b, 328 a, 336 a, 337 b, 355 b, 547 b, 613 a, 614 b, 622 b, 633 a, 633 b, 639 a, 655 a, 655 a, 659 b, 665 a, 670 a, 683 b, 689 a, 706 b, 716 a, 738 b, 741 b, 756 a, 765 b, 793 a, 802 a, 818 b, 819 b, 820 b, 827 b, 838 b. *plunder, under, wonder; hundred* : *ponder, yonder* 706 b, 736 a, 792 b. *nonsense* : *one sense* 735 a. *Johnson* : *sun soon* : *monsoon* 744 a. *Continent* : *one tenant* 782 b. *convent* : *one vent* 721 a. *among, tongue, young(ster), sung, hunger* : *long, along belong, song(ster), strong, throng, wrong* 69 a, 76 a, 147 b, 181 b, 182 a, 202 a, 215 b, 228 a, 311 a, 355 a, 363 b, 379 b, 547 a, 607 a, 613 b, 626 a, 628 b, 642 a, 668 a, 684 a, 701 a, 720 b, 771 a, 778 a, 788 b, 789 a, 821 a. *cup* s. & v., *up* : *drop, stop, optim* 762 b, 769 a. *hurry, worry* : *sorry* 149 a, 151 a. *thorough* : *borrow, sorrow* 537 b, 778 b. *mosque* : *tusk* 737 a. *apostle* : *jostle* : *tustle* 155 b. *brother, mother, (an)other* : *bother* 616 a, 738 a, 783 a. *love is* : *novice* 634 b.

The rime *frontier* : *one tear* s. 767 b may be based on the variant of *frontier* with μɛ ŭ (still in use; cf. NED). The rimes (*front*, cf. above,) *wont* : *font, upon't* 154 a, 704 b, 829 b may have been = μɛ ŏ : μɛ ŏ, as Bch gives μɛ ŏ in *wont* (Ellis); the present E. ou- variant of *wont* seems to be of very late origin (cf. Koeppel p. 58; W. has only u^2) and was probably unknown to Byron.

SWINBURNE. *blood, bloody* : *god, rod, body* PB I:28, 120, 178; SBS 113. — *one, none, done; dun* a., *son, sun* : *shone* (PB I:260; SN 5; TL 14), *gone, John, (-)on, anon* (*Aragon, Bourbon, question*) PB I:139, 259, 260, 285, 286, 288, 328, 329; PB II:202[1], 203[1], 206[1], 207[1]; SBS 144, 229; SN 5; TL 14. *wrong* : *among, tongue* PB II:225; MH 179. *current* : *torrent* SBS 114. *furrow, thorough* : *borrow, morrow, sorrow* A 186; CR 65, 76. *love, above, dove; enough* : (-)*of* PB I:3, 5, 6, 9, 25, 29, 60, 73, 76, 89, 106, 108, 125, 133, 133, 135, 136, 137, 139, 166, 207, 207, 209, 216, 217, 257, 263, 265, 273, 276, 280, 280, 283, 284, 285, 290, 292, 299, 306, 314; PB II:194; SN 9, 49, 50; SSp 9, 11, 13, 19, 105; SS 30, 149; AC 33, 76; A 177; CR 66; SBS 100, 140, 213, 214, 219, 220, 261, 272; TL 6, 14, 32, 76, 110, 351.

[1] Villon, cf. § 1.

155 **Present E. ɐ : ou.**

SPENSER. *done* inf. (= do) : *one, none* : *alone, prone, throne* 158 b, 165 a. *done* pp. : *one* : *moan, stone* 381 b. — *love, above* : *Jove* 286 a, 434 a, 578 b.

In *come* : *Rome* 538 a, *Rome* no doubt has μɛ ǭ, cf. § 137. — The rime *discover* : *over* : *hover* : *lover* 411 b (for *hover* cf. Koeppel p. 55) can be = μɛ ŭ : μɛ ŏ (Bll and Gill give μɛ ŏ in *over*, Ellis p. 898; Hart μɛ ŏ ~ μɛ ǭ, Jespersen p. 101) or μɛ ǭ̣ : μɛ ǭ (in *discover* μɛ ǭ̣ is not recorded but certainly probable as a variant, cf. by *covet* § 153, further B. § 140, Luick U. § 417). Finally there is the mere possibility that the rime is due to a mistake by the printer : *covered over*, for *over cover* (cf. § 9 f.).

μɛ ǭ : μɛ ou. *one, none* (§ 332) : *blown* (OE āw), *unknown, own* s. & v., (-)*thrown* (: *alone*) (*Geryone, paragon*) 30 a, 47 a, 344 b, 362 b, 403 b, 560 b, 582 b.

μɛ ǭ : μɛ ǭ. *one, none, attone* adv. : *alone, bone, fone* pl., *groan, Jone* n. pr., *loan, (be)moan, stone, throne* (,*Coridone, Deucalione, Paragone, affection, contention*) 84 b, 106 a, 117 a, 172 a, 182 b, 193 b, 215 a, 238 b, 248 b, 255 a, 264 a, 264 b, 277 b, 283 b, 291 b, 292 a, 292 a, 295 a, 305 a, 307 a, 326 b, 328 a, 341 b, 346 a, 358 b, 379 a, 386 b, 403 a, 408 b, 450 b, 452 b, 455 a, 458 b, 484 b, 491 b, 499 a, 502 a, 508 b, 532 a, 545 b, 573 a, 578 b. — Here belongs (in spite of the spelling *-oo-*) *Demophoon* : *one* : *one* 506 b, cf. ten Br. § 71; probably also *Bellibone* (= »a bonibell - - a fayre mayde, or Bonilasse,» Glosse 1579) : *one* 455 b.

POPE. *one, none* : (-)*known, own, shown* (: *alone*) 50, 124, 139, 141, 150, 213, 213, 230, 299, 412, 458. *son* : *own* 165, 294 [*Addison* : *own, shown* 264, 382]. *won* : *shown* 481. — *one, none* : *alone, stone, throne* 18, 120, 133, 137, 198, 211, 423, 480. (-)*come* : *home* 195, 292, 383, 383, 466. *done* : *throne* 122. *son* : *throne* 165. *begun, run, sun, won* : *alone, bone, stone, tone* 114, 118, 131, 149. *love, above* : *alcove, grove, Jove, rove, strove* 15, 16, 17, 19, 19, 21, 24, 39, 42, 59, 102, 156, 159, 162, 170, 172, 194, 254, 259, 341, 446, 481, 493, 495.

BYRON. *noble* : *trouble* 613 b, 782 a. *come, some* (,*-some*) : *dome* (205 b, 316 b), *foam, home, roam*; *Homer* 81 b, 148 a, 173 b, 177 b, 203 a, 205 b, 267 a, 278 a, 281 a, 299 b, 301 a, 316 b, 330 b, 613 a, 613 b, 617 a, 629 b, 660 a, 664 a, 676 a, 779 a, 832 a. *home* : *come* : *hum* s. 639 b. *one, none, done* : *own, grown, shown* (: *alone, throne*) 56 a, 232 b, 368 b, 632 b, 733 b, 785 b. *one, none, done* : *(a)lone, stone, tone, throne, zone* 50 a, 55 b, 56 a, 63 a, 251 b, 299 b, 329 b,

705 b, 799 b. *son* : *none* : *alone* : *one* : *done* 322 a. *dozen* : *chosen* : *cousin* 710 a, 787 b. *nothing* : *clothing, loathing; both*; *doting* 621 b, 629 b, 781 a. *nothing* : *growth in* : *both in* 705 b. *love*; *above, dove*; (*dis-, re-*) *cover*; *hover* (725 a, 771 a) : *cove, grove, Jove, rove, strove, wove*; *Dover, over* 2 a, 5 b, 6 b, 9 a, 9 a, 9 a, 9 a, 13 a, 14 a, 15 b, 16 a, 18 b, 28 a, 28 b, 29 a, 35 a, 43 a, 45 a, 79 b, 86 a, 88 b, 100 a, 100 a, 105 b, 266 b, 269 a, 274 b, 284 a, 295 b, 302 b, 324 a, 351 b, 372 a, 379 b, 613 a, 613 b, 616 b, 635 a, 637 a, 643 a, 668 b, 672 a, 698 b, 702 a, 719 a, 725 a, 726 b, 765 a, 771 a, 787 b.

dome may have μɛ ō̤ (see § 137); in *hover* μɛ ŏ is given by Bch and Sheridan,and is also used as a variant in present E. (cf. Koeppel p. 55). The rimes *front, wont* s. : *don't, won't* 775 b, 778 a are probably = μɛ ŏ : μɛ ō̤; cf. § 154.

SWINBURNE. *clomb* pret. : *dumb* PB I : 300. *bones* : *once* PB I : 138. *knows* : *does* PB I : 138. *chosen* : *dozen* PB I : 180. *doth* : *loth* PB I : 276. *growth* : *doth* PB I : 284, 299. *love, above, dove; (dis)cover; hover* (PB II : 129; CR 68) : *clove* pret., *cove, grove, strove* pret.; *over, rover* PB I : 59, 62, 92, 100, 100, 103, 104, 111, 331; PB II : 22, 43, 74, 129, 129, 169; SS 37; AC 4, 36, 93; CR 68; SBS 100, 147, 174, 193; TL 197. — [For *hover*, see above, Byron.]

Present E. ʊ : ɔɔ. 156

BYRON. *enough, rough, tough* : *off, cough* 163 b, 760 b, 810 b. *story* : *promontory* : *hurry* 695 b. *historian* : *glory on* : *hurry on* 748 a.

SPENSER. POPE. SWINBURNE. No cases.

Present E. ʊ : aa. 157

BYRON. *France* : *advance* : *once* 155 b.

SPENSER. POPE. SWINBURNE. No cases.

Present E. ʊ : æ. 158

SPENSER. *other* : *gather* 514 a is = μɛ ŏ : μɛ ă or μɛ ŭ : μɛ ĕ cf. §§ 114, 333.

POPE. No cases.

BYRON. *Matapan* : *man* : *one* 675 b. *man* : *one* : *sun* 633 b. *banns* : *once* : *dunce* 836 b. *arrow* : *thorough* : *farrow* 376 a.

SWINBURNE. *hungry* : *angry* AC 93.

159 **Present E. ɐ : e.**

SPENSER. *florish* : *perishe* : *cherishe* 493 a. *mother* : *other* : *together* 282 a. *discover* : *lover* : *endever* s. : *ever* 329 a.

BYRON. *flesh* : *fresh* : *hush* 633 a. *self* : *gulf* 77 a. *remember* : *number* 28 b. *once* : *dunce* : *sense* 725 b, 788 b. *interrupt* : *supt* pp. : *accept* 707 a. *perish'd* : *cherish'd* : *nourish'd* 751 b. *breast* : *dust* 317 b. *dust* : *entrust* : *must* : *bless'd* 242 a.

POPE. SWINBURNE. No cases.

160 **Present E. ɐ : i.**

SPENSER. *much* : *such* : *rich* 214 b (B. § 2); *discover* : *quiver* v. 389 a (B. § 140). Both are no doubt correct rimes μɛ ĭ : μɛ ĭ. Cf. *sich* § 33; μɛ ĭ is given in *much* by Salesbury (Ellis), in *cover* by Gill as Eastern pronunciation.

POPE. BYRON. SWINBURNE. No cases.

161 **Present E. əə : ɐ.**

SPENSER. The rime *trust* : *first* : *must* v. : *unjust* 319 a may be based on the variant *furst* (cf. § 82) or on a form *frust* (cf. for ME e. g. Morsbach Gr. p. 167), similar to the form *thrust* (= thirst; § 47).

BYRON. *hurry* : *furry* : *flurry* 767 a.

POPE. SWINBURNE. No cases.

162 **Present E. əə : uə.**

SPENSER. *loord* s. (= lout) : *word* 466 b is probably a correct rime μɛ ō̩r : μɛ ō̩r (for *word* cf. §§ 164, 286).

POPE. BYRON. SWINBURNE. No cases.

163 **Present E. əə : ou.**

SPENSER. *world* : *enrold* : *hold* : *told* 91 b. *world* : *enrold* 583 a. Here may also be given the rime *world* : *extold* 70 b (cf. § 129). — *world* has μɛ ŭr^{c}, μɛ ŏr^{c}, μɛ ō̩r^{c} in early Mod. E. (cf. Luick, Anglia 16, 455); *roll, hold* are given with μɛ ō̩ (u) by Cooper (Ellis) while *told* seems to be recorded only with the regular [ō(u)] < ME ōl^{c}. — The rimes 91 b, 583 a are probably = μɛ ō̩r^{c} (>

[ō] + rᶜ, cf. §§ 288, 296) : ɱɛ ou (cf. the rimes *report, enforced* : ɱɛ ǭ §§ 128, 296); the rime 70 b may be a case of the same kind, or = ɱɛ ŏrᶜ : ɱɛ ŏᶜ, cf. § 129.

POPE. BYRON. SWINBURNE. No cases.

Present E. əə : ɔɔ.

SPENSER. 164

A. Irrelevant and uncertain rimes.

heard pp. : *reward* 329 b is a rime ɱɛ ărᶜ: ɱɛ wărᶜ (*heard* see § 169). — In *yborne* : *morne* s. : *morne* s. : *werne* (= were, ind. pl.) 240 a, Spenser may have had in mind the ME Midland form *worne* (Kaluza §§ 211 c, 342, Dibelius § 63, Neumann § 193) with ɱɛ ǭ [Yet Gill reads this rime »-orn» : »-ërn», cf. Jiriczek p. 129]. — *word* : (*a*)*board, sword, afford* 170 b, 202 a, 212 a, 310 a, 363 b, 364 a, 515 a, 546 a, may be rimes ɱɛ ǭrᶜ : ɱɛ ǭrᶜ or possibly ɱɛ ŏrᶜ : ɱɛ ŏrᶜ (cf. §§ 286, 289; *word* has ɱɛ ŏ(rᶜ) ~ ɱɛ ŭ(rᶜ) ~ ɱɛ ǭ(rᶜ), see Luick, Anglia 16, 455; Viëtor Sh. § 53). — *word* : *accord, lord* 115 a, 316 b, 522 b, 601 a, are rimes ɱɛ ŏrᶜ : ɱɛ ŏrᶜ; as well as *word* : *abhor'd* 516 a, *Lord* : *word* : *accord* : *abhord* 353 a. — In the rimes *word* : (*a*)*board, afford, ford, sword* : *Lord, accord, record* 106 b, 191 b, 199 b, 269 b, 312 a, 318 a; and the rimes *Lord* : *ador'd* : *scor'd* : *word* 12 a, *sword* : *word* : *abhord* 81 a, *restord* : *accord* : *word* : *bord* 138 b, *abhord* : *accord* : *bord* : *word* 217 a, *word* is probably meant to have the pronunciation ɱɛ ŏrᶜ; so that the rimes are to be judged as other rimes ɱɛ ŏrᶜ : ɱɛ ǭrᶜ & ɱɛ ǭrᵘ (see § 296). — A rime ɱɛ ŏrᶜ : ɱɛ ŏrᶜ is possibly *border* v. : *murder* v. : *disorder* 411 a, where *murder* may stand for *morder*, cf. NED. — (*re*)*turn, burn* : *bourn* s. (= stream), *mourn* 46 a, 107 a, 228 b, 306 a, 511 a, 518 a, 528 b, 545 b, 549 b, 553 a, 556 a, 587 a, may all be correct rimes, = ɱɛ ŭrᶜ : ɱɛ ŭrᵘ, or, in the case of the rimes (*re*)*turn* : *bourn, mourn*, = ɱɛ ǭrᶜ : ɱɛ ǭrᶜ (*bourn, mourn*, see Luick l. c.; *turn* is not given with ɱɛ ǭ(rᶜ) by orthoepists, but this vowel is certainly possible as a variant, cf. B. § 119). An early ɱɛ ŭ in *mourn* is somewhat uncertain (it is given only by Jones, where it may be a provincialism, Ekw. § 343); but it seems to be wanted to explain Spenser's rime to *learn* 409 a (§ 166); cf. the rimes ɱɛ ŭ : ɱɛ ĕ § 339. — The rimes *perfourmed* : *refourmed* : *retourned* 303 a, *tourne* : *transforme* 339 b, are probably meant to be rimes ɱɛ ǭrᶜ : ɱɛ ǭrᶜ (*form* see § 291). — *nurse* (spelt *-ou-* 98) : *source* 98 b, 607 a; *worse* (spelt *-ou-* 295) : *course, source* 295 a, 448 a, *discourst* : *wourst* 517 b; are rimes ɱɛ ǭrᶜ : ɱɛ ǭrᶜ or ɱɛ ŭrᶜ

: μɛ ǫ̣rᶜ (*worse, worst* see Luick l. c.; *nurse* is equivalent to *turn*, see above). — *worth* : *forth* 89 a, 237 a, 242 a, 351 a, 450 b, 492 b, 526 a, 536 b, 555 b, 585 b, are probably rimes μɛ ŭrᶜ : μɛ ŭrᶜ (*worth* see Luick l. c.; *forth* is given with μɛ ŭ by Bll, Hauck p. 9); as well as *foorth* : *worth* : *birth* 93 b, where *birth* no doubt stands for *burth* (OE y, cf. § 350).

165 A special group is formed by the rimes *sworne* : *retourne* : *mourne* 78 b; (*re*)*turn* : *horn, scorn, born,* (-)*borne, forlorn* 85 b, 236 a, 374 b, 382 a, 459 b, 574 b; *forse* : *course* : *sourse* : *redisbourse* 244 a; *stormes* : *wormes* 449 b; *forme* : *scorne* : *worme* : *deforme* 537 b. Theoretically, all these rimes can be based upon [ū]- forms of *worm* (Luick l. c.), *return* (often spelt *-ou-*), *redisburse* (spelt *-ou-*; equivalent to *return*, cf. § 164, as regards the possibility of an [ū]), developing > [ǭ] | rᶜ as in *sword* etc., *court* etc., see §§ 286, 288. Yet it cannot be positively affirmed that such [ǭ]-forms of these words ever existed, as neither these forms themselves nor the [ū]-forms from which they would spring, appear in the works of the 16th and 17th c. orthoepists — Bll gives μɛ ŭ in *worm* acording to Hauck p. 12, not μɛ ǫ̣ as stated by Ellis p. 909 — or in the later development of the words. — It seems more plausible to assume that (*re*)*turn* and *worm* have μɛ ŏ-forms in these rimes. Such forms are not actually recorded; yet a μɛ ŏ in (-)*turn* is easily explained (cf. B. § 119) if the ground form is Lat. *tornare* (cf. also the common ME and early Mod. E. spelling *-o-*, used by Spenser in the rimes 236 a, 459 b); and a μɛ ŏ in *worm* could spring from OE eo (recorded by Sievers § 72, Anm.), cf. the early Mod. E. [ŏ]-forms of *word, world*, below § 289. In this case, these rimes of (*re*)*turn* and *worm* would be equivalent to the corresponding rimes of W. o³ rᶜ (= group *e*, § 287), cf. § 296. The remaining rime 244 a (to *redisburse*) would be best interpreted as [ūr] : [ōr].

166 B. The remaining rimes are as follows (cf. § 355):

turne : *mourne* : *learne* 409 a. *worth* : *forth* : *earth* 511 b. — *burds* (= birds) : *words* : *Lords* 239 b. *support* : *durt* (= dirt) : *hurt* 398 a.

167 POPE. *earth* : *birth* : *forth* 181. — *work* : *cork* 83. *worm* : *form* 184, 276, 472. (*re*)*turn* : *borne, worn* 61, 495. (*re*)*turn, urn* : (*un*)*born, horn, morn, scorn* 103, 133, 209, 255, 373, 378. *worse* : *horse* 499. *worth* : *forth* 120, 255, 297.

Uncertain are the rimes *burn, return, urn* : *mourn* 37, 102, 156, 200, 260, 337, 395, 396, 449, 479, 500 [on account of Jones'

ɹ.ɛ ŭ in *mourn*; cf. also the scarcity of rimes *mourn* : present E. ɔɔ(: *borne* 150, *forlorn* 20, *adorn* 23, 91, 155, 447)]; further the rimes *word* : *afford, board, sword* 255, 316, 463, 471; *word* : *restored* 423; *word* : *cord, lord* 131, 142, 301, 302, 317, 405 [: Mauger-Festeau 1696 etc., Ludwig 1717 (according to Löwisch p. 65) give *word* with ɹ.ɛ ō, which could be the regular development of Bll's and Gill's ɹ.ɛ ŏ; yet the foreign orthoepists concerned may of course be simply mistaken, as their notation is not given by any English orthoepist].

BYRON. W. e^2 : o^1. *birth* : *forth* 38 a, 59 b. — *birth, mirth* : 168
earth : *forth* 235 a, 365 a, 629 b, 692 b, 723 a. — *berth, earth* : *forth* 103 a, 373 b, 381 b, 651 a.

W. e^2 : u^2 : o^1. *virtue* : *hurt you* : *court you* 788 b. *forth* : *worth* : *birth* 828 b. — *earth* : *birth* : *worth* : *forth* 212 b. — (*un*)-*heard* : *word* : *sword* 216 b, 259 b. *return* : *bourne* : *concern* 744 a. *verse, universe* : *nurse, worse* : *source* 239 b, 684 a. — *dearth, earth* : *worth* : *forth, fourth* 706 b, 783 b.

W. u^2 : o^1. *bird, stirred* : *word* : *afford, sword* 677 b, 688 a. — *church* : *porch* 317 b, 831 a. *word* : *afford, board, sword*; *explored, restored, roared* 118 a, 126 a, 251 a, 278 a, 315 b, 363 b, 646 a, 690 b, 704 a, 749 a. *burden* : *worth in* : *forth in* 833 b. *burn, (re)turn, urn* : *bourne* (5 a), *mourn* 5 a, 17 b, 27 a, 27 b, 32 a, 54 a, 118 b, 278 a, 607 a, 676 a, 679 a, 748 a. *worse* : *coarse, course, recourse, resource, divorce* 288 a, 615 a, 630 b, 700 b. *worth* : *forth, fourth* 10 b, 73 b, 87 b, 98 b, 143 b, 200 a, 334 a. — *word* : *poured* (, *deplored*) 79 a, 548 b.

W.u^2 : o^3 (+a^3). *form* : *worm* : *conform* : *warm* 213 b. — *purchase* : *torches* : *churches* 833 b. *word* : (-)*chord, ac* -, *record, lord, abhorred* 47 b, 128 a, 230 a, 298 b, 545 b, 732 b, 803 a. *mortgage* : *burgage* : *her gage* 833 b. *work, lurk* : *cork, fork, stork* 118 a, 164 b, 169 b, 216 a, 822 b. *worm* : *form, storm* 158 a, 165 a, 268 b, 297 b, 355 a, 390 b, 601 a, 768 b. *usurper* : *torpor* 388 b.

W. u^2 : o^1 : o^3. *word* : *afford, horde, sword*; *adored, restored* : *ac* -,*record, lord, abhorred* 202 a, 255 a, 549 a, 710 b, 715 b, 754 a, 774 b, 798 a. *work, Turk* : *fork* : *pork* 376 a, 624 a. *worth* : *forth, fourth* : *north* 225 b, 233 a, 633 b, 650 b, 704 a. — *lord* : *word* : *pour'd* 367 b.

SWINBURNE. *mourns* : *urns* : *yearns* PB II : 79. *stern* : *return* : *yearn* : *discern* : *bourne* s. : *return* PB III : 117. — *chords* : *words* PB I : 292. — *word* : *Lord* : *adored* : *poured* SBS 152 [Here *word* may not be meant to rime; the rime-system is not clear].

169 **Present E. əə : aa.**

SPENSER. *heard* pret. & pp. (spelt *-ea-*), *preferred* (spelt *-ard*) : *de-, embarred, hard, marred, regard* 21 a, 75 b, 201 b, 292 a, 341 b, 406 a, 558 a; *desert* s. (< deserve), *con-, per-, revert* (all spelt *-art*, except *con-, revert* 262, 319, 575) : *heart* (spelt *-art*; *-ea-* only 575); *art* s., *art* 2 sg. pres., *dart, (a)part, depart, smart*; *Britomart* 89 b, 99 b, 199 b, 210 a, 221 a, 221 b, 233 a, 235 b, 262 a, 319 a, 384 b, 398 b, 493 a, 575 a, 579 a; *warke* (= work; < werk, cf. B. § 113) : *ark, bark, cark* s. *dark, lark, mark* 83 b, 481 a, 539 a; are no doubt all meant to be rimes μɛ ă(r^{c}) : μɛ ă(r^{c}). Cf. § 344 ff; § 348. For *heard* cf. also the spelling *hard* 128 a, 165 a (§ 213), 534 b (§ 214). [*heard* is also rimed : μɛ wăr^{c}, μɛ ār, μɛ ēr, μɛ ĕr (§§ 164, 170, 213-215; 82); contemporary orthoepists give μɛ ă, μɛ ā, μɛ ę̄, μɛ ę̆, μɛ ĕ, cf. Ellis p. 892, Jiriczek p. 186, Hauck pp. 50, 63.]

Clerks : *werks* (= works) 516 b; *desert* s. : *expert* : *astert* v. : *revert* 482 b; *serve, deserve* : *kerve, sterve* (= carve, starve) 109 b, 230 a, 232 b, 516 a; may all be rimes μɛ ă(r^{c}) : μɛ ă(r^{c}) or μɛ ĕ(r^{c}) : μɛ ĕ(r^{c}) (*kerve* and *sterve* are still used by Dryden, cf. NED carve; Dierb. § 42. Only a spelling?); the same is the case with the rime *sermon* : *Parson* 517 a (or is this last rime due to a printer's error?). — *preferre* : *farre* 550 b is probably a rime μɛ ă(r) : μɛ ă(r) (cf. the spelling *prefard* above). *farre* : *her* pers. pron. : *jarre* (= noise etc.) 406 a seems to be best explained as a rime μɛ ĕ(r) : μɛ ĕ(r) (NED gives several 16th c. cases of *far, jar* with *-e-*), as a pronunciation μɛ ă of *her* is improbable. — *darling* : *pearling* 554 b may be = μɛ ă(r^{c}) : μɛ ă(r^{c}) (cf. Lediard's μɛ ă in *pearl*, Ellis p. 1044) or, most likely, = μɛ ę̆(r) : μɛ ę̆(r), as Butler gives the form *dearling* (Ellis p. 887, Sweet HES p. 356).

armes (Teut.) : *wormes* 530 b can hardly have been meant as a rime μɛ ă(r^{c}) : μɛ ŭ(r^{c}), as such rimes do not occur in Spenser. If not simply due to a misprint (: *armes* for e. g. *formes*), the rime seems best interpreted as μɛ ă(r^{c}) : μɛ ŏ(r^{c}) (cf. § 314; for *worm*, § 165). A form of *worm* with μɛ ă(r^{c}) < [ĕ]|r (for ME *e*-forms, cf. Stratmann-Bradley) might also be assumed (cf. *wark* above, and the forms *warse, werse, werst* in Paston Letters, Neumann §§ 18, 58); but to my knowledge such a form of *worm* has not been actually found.

POPE. *preferred* : *guard* 205. *desert* s. : *pert* : *heart* 68, 223, 231, 341, 454, 482. *observe, reserve* : *starve* 245, 278, 327 [Cf. *err* : *singular* 60]. — *Berks* [: *remarks* 302] has present E. aa - əə (Koeppel p. 38); the former is of course the regular (= local)

early Mod. E. pronunciation (given by Jones), the latter is a spelling-pronunciation.

BYRON. *prisoners* : *bars* : *hers* 368 b. *harmony* : *Germany* : *term any* 819 b. *march* : *arch* : *research* 819 a, 823 a. *clergy* : *charge ye* 614 a. *birth, mirth, earth* : *hearth* 16 b, 18 a, 56 a, 107 b, 202 b, 293 a. *worth* : *earth* : *hearth* 630 b.

SWINBURNE. No cases.

Present E. əə : eə. 170

SPENSER. The rimes *her* pers. pron. : *were* 208 a, 413 b, 541 b are uncertain. Chaucer rimes *here* : ME ę̄ (Cromie p. 108); but Spenser's rimes cited here need not be cases of that kind. Very likely they are = μɛ ĕr : μɛ ĕr, due to a weak form of *were* (though such a form is not recorded by orthoepists until the 18th c., cf. Byron, below). — The rime *heard* pret. : *far'd* : *prepar'd* 88 b is = μɛ ę̄(r) : μɛ ā(r) or μɛ ā(r) : μɛ ā(r), according to Gill's transcriptions of *heard* (cf. § 169).

POPE. No cases [Cf. *swear: thunderer* 162; *share* : *commissioner* 397].

BYRON. *her* : *ne'er, bear* v. (+ *were*) 104 b, 379 b, 694 b. — *there* : *err* : *fair* 768 b. — *fair* : *err* : *her* 682 a. — *early* : *fairly* 722 b. — *heard* : *bared, cared, dared, prepared, shared* 84 b, 704 b, 743 a.

were (present E. eə ~ əə) is given by Ellis' authorities with the sound corresponding to present E. eə, up to the latter part of the 18th c. Then μɛ ĕr is given as the only pronunciation by Bch, Sheridan (Ellis p. 1082), Walker (= *-er* in *prefer*, Princ. 94); both pronunciations by Kenrick. — BYRON generally rimes *were* : present E. eə; I have counted 30 rimes of this kind. To present E. əə there are the following rimes : *were* : *err* 342 a; *her* : *were* 321 b; *her* : *stir* : *were* 621 a, 690 a, 721 b. [Besides there are the two cases *were* : present E. əə & eə 379 b, 694 b, given above, and three rimes to present E. iə, given § 111.]

SWINBURNE. *there* : *her* PB I : 289.

were (cf. above) is generally rimed : present E. eə; I have counted 61 cases. To present E. əə I have found only the rime *thorn-flower* : *were* : *her* SBS 197. [Besides *hear* : *were* PB I : 287, § 111.]

Present E. əə : e. 171

SPENSER. *gerle* (= girl) : *fell* pret. 427 a is probably a rime μɛ ĕr^{c} : μɛ ĕ^{c} (*girl* has [ĭ] ~ [ĕ] in ME); cf. for similar rimes §§ 128, 163.

POPE. BYRON. SWINBURNE. No cases.

172 **Present E. əə : iə.**

SPENSER. *heard* pret. : *afeard* : *inferd* : *appeard* 399 b is a rime ˌɛ ĕr : ˌɛ ēr. — *heard* pret. & pp. (cf. § 169); *herd* s. (= flock; spelt *-ea-*, cf. B. § 35) : *steered* (203 a; spelt *-ea-*); *beard*; *afeard*; *feared*, *appeared*, (*up*)*reared*, *seared* 70 b, 96 b, 145 a, 190 a, 193 a, 203 a, 216 b, 217 a, 235 a, 261 b, 263 a, 350 b, 369 b, 382 b, 425 a, 496 a, 525 b, 552 a, 590 b, may all be taken as rimes ˌɛ ēr ˌɛ ēr (cf. §§ 228 ff., 236). — For rimes to *sweard*, *swerd* (= sword), see § 49. — *fierce*, (*em*)*pierce* (both spelt *-e-*; *-ie-* only 559) : *rehearse* (spelt *-e-*), *disperse*, *verse*, *reverse* 32 b, 59 b, 227 b, 559 a; *pierced* (spelt *-e-*, *-ea-*) : *rehearsed* (spelt *-e-*), *reversed*; *earst* 255 b, 365 b, 375 b; may all be rimes ˌɛ ĕr : ˌɛ ĕr [Cf. B. § 55; Horn. Gr. §§ 82; 83,2]. It may be added that *fierce* is given by Bch and Sheridan (Ellis p. 1076) with ˌɛ ĕ; *pierce* with ˌɛ ĕ by Jones (spelt *-ea-*; cf. Ekw. p. 41), by Bch with ˌɛ ẹ̄ ~ ˌɛ ĕ, by Sheridan with ˌɛ ĕ (Ellis p. 1079); both words by Walker 1791 with $e^1 \sim e^2$. Both these pronunciations are given for both words also in later editions of Walker, yet with the addition that the latter pronunciation »is heard chiefly on the stage». CD and one of the authorities of St. D. still give *pierce* with the *e* in *over* as an alternative pronunciation. — The rimes given above are Spenser's only rimes of *pierce*, *fierce*, except for *ferce* : *perce* 26 a, *empierce* : *fierce* 109 b; in the last rime the spelling *-ie-* points to a pronunciation ˌɛ ẹ̄.

173 POPE. *aver*, *refer* : *hear*, *here* 193, 479 [Cf. *Westminster*, *Gulliver* : *ear* 297, 365; *sepulchres* : *years* 91; *character* : *steer* 52].

In the rimes *heard* : *appeared*, *revered* 42, 120, 306, Pope may have had in view ˌɛ ēr in *heard*, given (apart from Bll's [ī] and Gill's [ē], cf. § 169) by Lediard (Ellis p. 1049), used by Dr. Johnson (Ellis p. 624, foot-note) and mentioned (disapprovingly) still by Walker; according to Ellis' interpretation of Webster (Ellis p. 1069) this pronunciation was almost universally used in America before the War of Independence [Yet cf. Pope's rime *heard* : *averr'd* 133. Of the common 16th or 17th c. pronunciation of *heard* with ˌɛ ărᶜ there is no trace in Pope's rimes]. — *fierce*, *pierce* : *verse*, *universe* 193, 286, 343, 471, are correct rimes ˌɛ ĕr : ˌɛ ĕr in Pope's time; cf. above [These are Pope's only rimes to *fierce*, *pierce*].

174 BYRON. *dear* etc. (several words with present E. iə) : *her* 537 a. *appear* : *err* : *her* 375 a. *heard* : *word* : *appear'd* 377 b. *early* : *merely* : *curly* 668 b.

The rimes *beard* : *averr'd* 197 b, *beard* : *heard* 729 b, *heard, herd* : *appeared, cleared, feared, reared, weird* 186 b, 296 a, 319 b, 349 a, 350 a, 695 b, 829 a, *reverse* : *pierce* : *fierce,* 720 b, *fierce, pierce* : *amerce, rehearse, verse* : *curse* 230 a, 361 b, 368 a may be based on the pronunciation μɛ ēr in *heard* (see § 173) and the pronunciation μɛ ĕr in *fierce, pierce* (see § 172) and in *beard,* which last word according to Walker (Princ. 228) was often pronounced »as if written *berd*»; cf. the note to *beard* in later editions of Walker (e. g. 1872).

SWINBURNE. *cheer* : *dear* : *her* PB I:29. *beard* : *heard, word* PB I:276, 281. *dearliest* : *earliest* PB II : 180.

In the rimes *fierce, pierce* : *first, thirst; rehearse, mercies, disperse, verse, adverse, perverse, reverse; curse, nurse, worse* PBI : 218, PB II: 89, L 15, AC 35, A 33, SSp 71, 104, CR 67, TB 62, TL 198, Swinburne may have had in view the archaic pronunciation present E. əə in *fierce, pierce* (see § 172).

II. Rimes containing more than two different rime-vowels (in present E. pronunciation).

Present E. i : ij : ai. 175

SPENSER. *forgive* : *drive* inf. : *live* : *grieve* 404 a is = μɛ ĭ or μɛ ē̯ : μɛ ē̯ : μɛ ī; cf. §§ 88, 94.

BYRON. *original* : *besieging all* : *obliging all* 833 a is a rime μɛ ē : μɛ ĭ. *oblige* is given with μɛ ē̯ by Jones (Ekw. p. 48), with μɛ ē ~ μɛ ī by Bch (Ellis), W., and still by CD, and the former pronunciation is of course meant by Byron in this rime.

POPE. SWINBURNE. No cases.

Present E. eə : iə : aiə. 176

SPENSER. The rime *fyres* : *Spheres* : *yeres* : *theirs* 296 a is quite anomalous, unless *fyres* stands for the Kentish *feres,* of which form there is, however, no direct evidence in Spenser's rimes. *theirs* seems to be an alteration of the printer's for *th'air(e)s* (or possibly for *th'eirs*), cf. § 10.

POPE. BYRON. SWINBURNE. No cases.

177 **Present E. e : i : ij, iə.**

SPENSER. POPE. No cases.
BYRON. *heaven, seven* : *(for)given* : *even* 373 a, 709 b.
SWINBURNE. *spirit* : *inherit* : *merit* : *rear it* TL 200.

178 **Present E. ei, eə : e : i.**

SPENSER. POPE. SWINBURNE. No cases.
BYRON. *graven* pp. : *heaven* : *driven* 365 a.
The rimes *bear, wear, where* : *merit* : *spirit* 629 a, 772 b, 796 b, may be based upon the pronunciation μɛ ĕ in *spirit*, cf. §§ 98, 108.

179 **Present E. ei : e : ij.**

SPENSER. ME ę̄ : μɛ ę̄ (cf. §§ 100, 109). *great* : *sweat, threat* : *beat, excheat, heat, meat, repeat, seat, treat, entreat* 33 b, 62 b, 69 a, 115 b, 189 b, 201 b, 256 b, 335 a, 349 a, 352 b, 415 b, 577 a, 607 a.
ME ę̄ : μɛ ę̆ : μɛ ĕ. *necke* : *wreake* : *breake* : *weake* a. 314 b.
BYRON. *death* : *faith* : *beneath* 674 b.
POPE. SWINBURNE. No cases.

180 **Present E. æ : ei : ij.**

SPENSER. μɛ ā : μɛ ę̄. *have* : *gave, save* : *leave, receive* (spelt *-ea-*) 138 b, 352 b. *stature* : *nature* : *creature, feature* 240 a, 607 b. — For *have* cf. § 112. — *stature* is not mentioned by the 16th c. orthoepists, but Spenser's rimes (cf. §§ 112, 115) make it probable that it was occasionally pronunced with μɛ ā.
POPE. BYRON. SWINBURNE. No cases.

181 **Present E. æ : e : ij.**

SPENSER. POPE. SWINBURNE. No cases.
BYRON. *devil* : *evil* : *cavil* v. 711 a.

182 **Present E. aa : æ : ei.**

SPENSER. *haste* : *past* : *fast* : *hast* 2 sg. 58 b. — *bath* : *wrath* : *hat'th* : *hath* 3 sg. 87 a. — The rimes *bath, path, wrath* : *hath* 3

sg. : *scath* s. 103 b, 337 b, 577 b, are equivalent to the rimes of *hath* § 116, as *scath* has μɛ ā ~ μɛ ă(th) cf. § 118.

POPE. BYRON. SWINBURNE. No cases.

Present E. ɔɔ : aa : eə. 183

SPENSER. μɛ (w)ăr(c) : μɛ ār. *ward* s. & v., *award, reward, hitherward* : (-)*guard, hard, regard, shard* s.; *unbarred, marred* : *declared, fared, com-, prepared, scared, spared* 23 b, 77 a, 102 b, 110 a, 114 b, 117 a, 159 a, 183 b, 275 a, 280 b, 299 b, 363 a, 377 b.

POPE. BYRON. SWINBURNE. No cases.

Present E. ɔɔ : aa : ei. 184

SPENSER. In the rime *fast* : *wast* inf. : *coast* 532 a, *waste* s. should probably be substituted for *coast*, cf. § 10.

POPE. BYRON. SWINBURNE. No cases.

Present E. ɔ : ou : ɔɔ. 185

BYRON. *stow'd* : *abroad* : *odd* 716 a. *road* : *broad* : *god* 773 a. — *boat* : *thought* : *lot* 657 b.

SPENSER. POPE. SWINBURNE. No cases.

Present E. ɔ : ɔɔ : aa. 186

BYRON. *haunt* : *pant* : *want* 358 b. *granted* : *wanted* : *haunted* 646 a. — *was* : *pass* : *cause* 370 b.

SPENSER. POPE. SWINBURNE. No cases.

Present E. ɔ : ɔɔ : æ. 187

BYRON. *want* : *cant* s. : *vaunt* 627 a. — *as* : *was* : *cause* 784 b.

SPENSER. POPE. SWINBURNE. No cases.

Present E. ɔ : ɔɔ : ei. 188

BYRON. *was* : *bass* : *maws* s. 654 a. — In this rime, Byron no doubt had in view a spelling-pronunciation of *bass* with μɛ ăs; cf. Sheridan, Ellis p. 1073 [In Pope's rime *bass* : *ass*

385 (cf. § 118) the pronunciation meant is μɛ ā, as appears from the spelling *base* in Warburton's edition (1752)].

SPENSER. POPE. SWINBURNE. No cases.

189 **Present E. ɔ : aa : æ.**

SPENSER. *was* : *alas, glass, grass, lass, mass* (< OF), (-)*pass* (, *Molucas*) : *has* 13 b, 15 a, 20 a, 23 b, 148 b, 171 a, 191 a, 220 b, 228 b, 291 b, 301 b, 308 a, 337 b, 343 a, 343 b, 351 b, 373 a, 384 b.

BYRON. *commander* : *squander* : *salamander* 735 b. *Alexander* : *wander* : *meander* 727 a. — *was* : *class, pass* : *as, has* 682 b, 723 a, 770 a.

POPE. SWINBURNE. No cases.

190 **Present E. ɔ : aa : ei.**

SPENSER. *was* : *pas* : *case* : *place* 374 b. *was* : *passe* : *embase* : *case* 388 a.

POPE. BYRON. SWINBURNE. No cases.

191 **Present E. ɔ : æ : ei.**

BYRON. *squabble* : *rabble* : *able* 697 a. — *same ages* : *damages* : *homages* 791 a.

SPENSER. POPE. SWINBURNE. No cases.

192 **Present E. uw : ɔ : ou.**

SPENSER. *alone* : *anone* (= anon, cf. § 129) : *bemone* v. : *swone* s. (= swoon) 389 a is a rime μɛ ǭ : μɛ ǭ, or possibly = μɛ ǭ : μɛ ǭ; cf. B. § 185 who attempts an explanation of a *swone* with μɛ ǭ. I have not found the form *swoon* in Spenser's rimes (for μɛ ū-forms cf. § 144).

BYRON. *from* : *room* : *home* 773 b. *Gothic* : *so thick* : *through thick* 833 b. — In the rimes *soon, moon* : *tone* : *shone* pret. 712 b, 828 a, *shone* has μɛ ǭ as usual in Byron, cf. § 130.

POPE. SWINBURNE. No cases.

193 **Present E. uw : ou : ɔɔ.**

SPENSER. *broode* s. : *abrode* : *abode* : *lode* s. (= load) 288 a is a certain rime μɛ ǭ : μɛ ǭ (: ME ǭ). In *mode* s. (= mood)

: *abrode* : *rode* pret. : *brodɛ* 247 b, *mood* may have μɛ ō < *mode*, cf. B. § 105; Skeat Et. D.

POPE. BYRON. SWINBURNE. No cases.

Present E. u : uw : ɔ. 194

SPENSER. POPE. No cases.

BYRON. *mood* : *stood* : *god* 241 a. *woman* : *two men* : *common* 617 b.

SWINBURNE. *lose him* : *bosom* : *blossom* PB I:172. — *bosom* has present E. u ~ uw; cf. further § 140.

Present E. u : ɔ : ou. 195

SPENSER. POPE. SWINBURNE. No cases.

BYRON. *woman* : *common* : *no man, Roman, Knowman* 635 a, 637 a, 718 b, 820 a.

Present E. au : u : ou. 196

SPENSER. *mould* (Rom.) : *should* : *defould* 64 b (cf. § 324),

POPE. BYRON. SWINBURNE. No cases.

Present E. auə : uə : ɔɔ(ə). 197

SPENSER. *dore* (= door) : *towre* v. (= tour) : *devoure* 588 a (cf. § 319).

POPE. BYRON, SWINBURNE. No cases.

Present E. au : uw : ou. 198

SPENSER. *showed* : *wowed* (= wooed) : *vowed* 412 a is best explained by μɛ ū in *woo*, cf. § 144.

SWINBURNE. *growth* : *mouth* : *youth* : *south* PB II:92.

POPE. BYRON. No cases.

Present E. au : ɔ : ou. 199

BYRON. *gone* : *own* : *alone* : *grown* : *down* 103 b.

SPENSER. POPE. SWINBURNE. No cases.

200 **Present E. ɐ : au : u.**

SPENSER. *wood* s. : *stood* : *bud* v. : *aloud* 407 b.
POPE. BYRON. SWINBURNE. No cases.

201 **Present E. ɐ : au : ɔ.**

BYRON. *on* : *down* : *undone* 732 b.
SPENSER. POPE. SWINBURNE. No cases.

202 **Present E. ɐ : au : ou.**

BYRON. *none* : *town* : *own* 836 b.
SPENSER. POPE. SWINBURNE. No cases.

203 **Present E. ɐ : u : (j)uw.**

SPENSER. *blood* (spelt *-oud* 210, 277), *flood* : *good, hood,* (-)*stood, wood* s. : *brood* s., *food, mood, wood* a.; *remoud* (=removed, 210 b) 36 a, 61 b, 67 a, 70 a, 99 a, 112 b, 173 b, 179 b, 210 b, 277 b, 283 b, 321 a, 329 a, 335 b, 344 a, 378 a, 506 b, 508 b.

POPE. No cases.

BYRON. *blood* : *good,* (-)*stood, wood* s. : *brood, food, mood* 371 b, 645 a, 668 b, 679 a, 691 a, 815 a. *woman* : *summon* : *human* 797 b.

SWINBURNE. *blood* : *good, wood* s.; *fatherhood* : *brood, food, mood* SN 73; SSp 24. *blood* : *sued* : *food* : *good* SN 57. *stood* : *mood* : *good* : *blood* : *subdued* : *rude* SS 36.

204 **Present E. ɐ : u : ɔ.**

BYRON. *everybody* : *should I* : *muddy* 825 b. *uncommon* : *summon* : *woman* 809 a. *put* : *not* : *but* 653 a.

SPENSER. POPE. SWINBURNE. No cases.

205 **Present E. ɐ : uw : ɔ, ou.**

SPENSER. *loved* : *roved* : *proved* 320 a, *lover* : *over* : *recover* : *move her* 321 b, are no doubt = ME ŭ- : ɱɛ ǭ : ɱɛ ǭ (for ɱɛ ǭ in *recover*, cf. § 155). — The rime *Rome* : *roome* : *doome* : *overcome*

137 b is = ME ŭ- : ɱɛ ǭ (for *Rome* cf. § 137), possibly also *wombe* : *come* : *rome* v. (= roam) : *home* 291 a (cf. § 320).

POPE. No cases.

BYRON. *of* : *move* : *love* 238 a. *nominal* : *overcoming all* : *entombing all* 697 b. — *home* : *come* : *tomb* 679 a. *love, above* : *behove,* (-)*move, prove* : *grove, rove, over* 191 b, 192 b, 197 b, 674 a, 777 b, 785 a.

SWINBURNE. *blood* : *rod* : *God* : *food* SN 62. *love, above, dove; enough* : (-)*move,* (-)*prove* : (-)*of* PB II:91, 208; SS 62, 202; TB 25; CR 31; SBS 26. — *well-beloved* : *moved* : *roved* : *proved* : *removed* : *reproved* SS 16. — *love* : *above* : *strove* pret. : *thereof* : *move* : *dove* SBS 26.

Present E. ɐ : uw : ɔɔ. 206

BYRON. *off* : *aloof* : *enough* 817 b.

SPENSER. POPE. SWINBURNE. No cases.

Present E. ɐ : ɔ : ou. 207

SPENSER. *flood* : *God* : *abode* 286 b. *won* s. (cf. § 47) : *-upon* : *done* pp. : *alone* 338 b.

ɱɛ ǭ : ɱɛ ǭ. *one, none* (§ 332) : (-)*gone, shone* pret. (§ 129) : *alone, fone* pl., *groan,* (*be*)*moan, stone* 32 b, 92 b, 205 a, 231 b, 393 a, 435 a, 490 b, 506 a. *fone* : *woe-begone* : *attone* adv. : *wone* inf. (cf. § 47) 333 b.

ɱɛ ou : ɱɛ ǭ. *knowen* pp. : *none* : *gone* : *attone* adv. 264 a.

POPE. No cases.

BYRON. *Tom* : *home* : *drum* 776 a. *done, none* : *gone, on* : *alone, bone* 645 a, 685 b, 758 b. *spun* : *shone* pret. : *stone* 663 b. *gone* : *shown* : *one* 164 b. *economy* : *one am I* : *alone am I* 155 a. *incontinent* : *I won't anent* : *affronting in't* 778 b. *dozen* : *rosin* : *chosen* 744 b, 789 b [For *shone* cf. § 130].

SWINBURNE. *Tom* : *from* : *overcome* : *home* TL 288. *one, son* : *anon, gone* : *alone, bone* PB I:269; SBS 197. *dove* : *love* : *strove* : *thereof* : *above* : *love* CR 84.

Present E. ɐ : ɔ : ɔɔ. 208

BYRON. *dollars* : *colours* : *bawlers* 699 a. *of* : *scoff* : *rough* 365 a, 730 b. *Koklophti* : *scoff'd high* : *Mufti* 732 a.

SPENSER. POPE. SWINBURNE. No cases.

209 **Present E. ɐ : ɔ : aa.**

BYRON. *bronze* : *once* : *glance* 618 b.
SPENSER. POPE. SWINBURNE. No cases.

210 **Present E. ɐ : ɔ, ɔɔ : æ.**

BYRON. *upon* : *one* : *man* 696 a. — *awkward* : *backward* : *stuck hard* 708 a, 714 b.
SPENSER. POPE. SWINBURNE. No cases.

211 **Present E. ɐ : æ : e.**

SPENSER. *emperisht* : *cherisht* : *guarisht* : *florisht* 244 b. *guarish* may stand for *guerish*, which would make the rime = μɛ ŭ : μɛ ĕ, cf. § 339. OF has *gue-* by the side of the more common *gua-*, cf. Godefroy; NED records a 15th c. English form *gwerysshe*. Spenser has *guarish* also p. 186 a, but not in the rime.
POPE. BYRON. SWINBURNE. No cases.

212 **Present E. əə : ɔ : ɔɔ.**

BYRON. *before all* : *moral* : *her all* 631 a.
SPENSER. POPE. SWINBURNE. No cases.

213 **Present E. əə : ɔɔ : aa.**

SPENSER. *heard* (spelt *-a-* 128, 165), *trans-*, *preferred* (spelt *-a-*) : *gard*, *regard*, *hard*; (*de*)*barred* : *ward* s., *reward* 128 a, 165 a, 221 a, 238 b, 383 b, 493 a; are all rimes μɛ wărᶜ : μɛ ărᶜ (cf. § 169).
POPE. No cases.
BYRON. *conferr'd* : *reward* : *card* 769 b. — *forms* : *worms* : *charms* 719 a.
SWINBURNE. No cases.

214 a) **Present E. əə : ɔɔ : eə.**

SPENSER. *hard* pp. (= heard) : *reward* : *dar'd* 534 b is a rime μɛ (w)ărᶜ : μɛ ār (cf. § 169, *heard*); or possibly = μɛ wărᶜ : μɛ ă(ᶜ), based on a form of *dare* with μɛ ăr, cf. § 39.
POPE. BYRON. SWINBURNE. No cases.

Present E. əə : aa : eə. 214 b)

SPENSER. *heard* pret. : *debard* : *prepard* 314 b is a rime μɛ ăr(c) : μɛ ār (cf. § 169, *heard*).

POPE. BYRON. SWINBURNE. No cases.

Present E. əə : eə : iə. 215

SPENSER. *appeard* : *heard* pp. : *fared* : *stared* 329 a is a rime μɛ ēr : μɛ ār, cf. § 170.

POPE. BYRON. SWINBURNE. No cases.

CHAPTER II.

Relations of the Rimes to the Pronunciation of the Rime-Vowels.

216 **Present E. ai.**

SPENSER. Rimes. Irrelevant or uncertain cases, see §§ 29, 86, 88, 89, 90, 176, 237.

μɛ ī : μɛ ę̄ (numerous, § 86; cf. § 89). μɛ ī : *here, fear, sheer* (3 cases). μɛ ī : μɛ ai [μɛ ī : *seize* 50 b; *-ight* : *keight, straight* (,*weight*) (8 cases); μɛ ī : *eyne* : *slain* 384 a (cf. *eyen* : μɛ ai 574 b. § 90; *felicitie* : *away* 560 a, § 86)]. μɛ ī : *Ind; give, live* (10 cases; cf. § 88). *forgive* : *drive* inf. : *live* : *grieve* 404 a. *inclynd* : *find* : *mind* : *attend* v. 576 a. μɛ ī : present E. oi (numerous).

The rimes μɛ ī : present E. oi, and μɛ ī : μɛ ai (X no rimes μɛ ę̄ : these vowels) make it evident that Spenser knew a diphthongated μɛ ī. As to the rimes μɛ ī : μɛ ai, it is remarkable that they consist almost exclusively of rimes to *keight, straight* (,*weight*); a fact that can hardly be considered as due to mere chance. μɛ ī-variants of *keight, straight* might possibly be assumed as analogical doublets, due to the variation μɛ ī ~ μɛ ai in *height, sleight, weight* — in fact, NED records a 14th c. pp. *kight* but does not give any citation — yet, as far as I know, there is no trace of such variants of *keight, straight* in the Mod. E. period. It seems more plausible to suppose 1) that Spenser usually pronounced the fricative *gh* in *keight, straight* [*keight* occurs only in two rimes given § 90; *straight* is also rimed with μɛ ai, cf. B. § 148, in those cases spelt *strayt* (once *-aict*)] and on that account preferred rime-words with *-ght;* 2) that Spenser at least occasionally used diphthongated μɛ ī + *gh* in the words with *-ight* (and by analogy *gh* also in *quite, despite*, cf. B. §§ 6, 15, 21). This latter pronuncation may or may not have been artificial (cf. Sweet HES § 892).

At any rate, it appears from Spenser's restricted use of rimes μɛ ī : μɛ ai that the diphthongation of μɛ ī had not advanced very far in his pronunciation. This is also the conclusion to be drawn from the numerous rimes μɛ ī : μɛ ę̄. The rimes μɛ ī : μɛ ĭ — as far as they are certain — should probably be regarded as emergency rimes. For the rime *attend* : μɛ ī 576 a, cf. § 246.

Pope. Rimes. Irrelevant or uncertain cases, see §§ 86, 87. 217

μɛ ī : *Racine, magazine; caprice* (4 cases). μɛ ī : *live* (2 cases); : *wit* (2 cases). — The rimes are certainly mainly due to tradition and spelling (cf. e. g. Dryden, Dierb. § 80). — For the numerous rimes μɛ ī : present E. oi (§ 91), cf. § 222.

Byron. Rimes. Irrelevant or uncertain cases, see §§ 88, 218 89, 175.

ravine : *pine* 613 b. μɛ ī : μɛ ĭ (10 cases, incl. 5 rimes : *give*). — The rimes are due to tradition and spelling. — For the numerous rimes μɛ ī : present E. oi (§ 91), cf. 223.

Swinburne's rimes (*for*)*give* : μɛ ī (2 cases) are certainly 219 traditional.

Present E. oi. 220

Cf. Ellis p. 130 ff.; Luick, Anglia 14, 294 ff., E. St. 26, 269 f., 275; B. § 164; Dierberger § 83; Viëtor Sh. § 54 f.; Hauck p. 92 ff.; Ekw. § 355 ff.; Horn Gr. § 119.

Spenser (cf. §§ 51, 91) rimes μɛ ī : *-oil* (numerous); : *coined, joined, purloined* (4 cases); : *destroy(ed), annoyed* (7 cases). The total absence of rimes μɛ ī : e. g. *voice; noise, choice; (en)joy; employ, poise* (= Luick's groups I b; IV; V) which are consistently spelt *-oi-, -oy-* (not *-ui-, -uy-*) in ME (Luick, Anglia l. c. p. 298) and almost unanimously given with μɛ ŏi by the orthoepists, fully authorizes the conclusion drawn by B. l. c. that in the rimes μɛ ī : present E. oi-words Spenser has not had in mind μɛ ŏi in these latter words, but μɛ ŭi, which later becomes equivalent to the diphthongated μɛ ī, a development probably already begun in Spenser's pronunciation. It is true that — except possibly for Mulcaster, who distinguishes between »the diphthong sounding upon the *o*» . . . e. g. *joy, enjoy, annoy, toy, boy,* and »the other, which soundeth upon the *u*» : *anoint, appoint, foil,* »and such» (Ellis p. 915) — the pronunciation μɛ ŭi of the present E. oi-words seems not to have been known by the 16th c. orthoepists. Hart (Jespersen §§ 9, 31, 38) gives μɛ ŏi in *choice, hoist, point,*

voice; other pronunciations in *oister, boy, buoy, hoys; join* (*,voice*); but not με ŭi (or με ọ̄i); Bll (Hauck l. c.) gives με ŏi in *boy, boisterous, coif, joy, joined, joint, loiter, noise, ointment, spoil, voice, void, avoid;* με ọ̄i in *buoy, toil;* με ū̄i in *joist;* Smith (Ellis l. c.) is uncertain: he gives only one pronunciation, but it is not clear whether he means με ŏi or με ŭi or something between the two. Gill still mentions the pronunciation με ŭi only in *toilsome* and (~ με ŏi or με ọ̄i) in *join, soil, toil* (not με ū̄i in *join* as is asserted by Viëtor Sh. l. c.); his other notations are με ŏi [in *assoil, avoid, broil* s. (~ με ọ̄i), *devoid, disloigned, disloyal, -ly, -ty; enjoy, join* (~ με ŭi and με ọ̄i), *joy, joyful, joyous, moist, -en, oil, rejoice, royal, soil* (~ με ŭi and με ọ̄i), *Taillebois, toil* (~ με ŭi and με ọ̄i), *toit* (»Occid. pro sedili»), *toys, voice, void*] and με ọ̄i [in *appointed, boil, broil* s. (~ με ŏi), *broil* v., *buoy, foil* s., *foined, join* (~ με ŭi and με ŏi), *joint, point, soil* (~ με ŭi and με ŏi), *spoil, toil* (~ με ŭi and με ŏi)]; besides he gives *boy* = »buoi» (»Non bue»; »boi dial. Bor.»). — But a 16th c. pronunciation με ŭi is implied, not only in Spenser's rimes, but also by the fact that Wallis 1653 gives the first element of the diphthong in *toil, oil* — as pronounced by some — = »ò vel ù obscurum», i. e. = με ŭ (Luick, Anglia l. c.). — Bll's and Gill's με ọ̄i on the other hand appears later as [ŭi], given by Cooper (Ellis p. 134) in some words, and more generally by Jones (Ekw. l. c.). Cf. the development of *blood, flood* (§§ 333, 337): 16th c. με ọ̄ ~ με ŭ; Cooper [ŭ] (*bloodily; flood*) ~ με ŭ (*flood*) (Ellis), 18th c. etc. με ŭ.

The variation με ọ̄i ~ με ŭi may be of ME origin; or else με ŭi may have developed from με ọ̄i by a shortening of the long first element in the 16th c. In this latter case, the omission of με ŭi by Bll and its scarcity in Gill is easily explained as mere conservatism on the part of these orthoepists. Hart's and Bll's με ŏi in *point* etc. (see above) does not prove that there did not exist με ŭi-variants, as well, of these words, but it evidently proves the existence of με ŏi-variants (possibly due to the spelling); such variants are besides evidenced later by Gill's vacillation between με ŭi & με ọ̄i and με ŏi in several words of this kind, and by Wallis (1653) expressly stating that some people pronounced all oi-words with με ŏi. — Under these circumstances it seems very possible that Spenser knew the pronunciation με ŏi, besides με ŭi, in the words rimed : με ī; so that his rimes present E. oi : oi (§ 51) require no comment.

According to Viëtor Sh. l. c. and the rime-lists l. c. p. 245 ff.,

Shakespeare has no rimes present E. oi : ai. Of course this does not prove that Shakespeare did not know the pronunciation μɛ ŭi in any present E. oi-words; the phonetic difference between μɛ ī and μɛ ŭi in Shakespeare's time (= in Spenser's) was certainly great enough sufficiently to account for the absence of rimes between these diphthongs in any poet of that time.

Later, when μɛ ŭi had become equivalent to the diphthongated μɛ ī, it seems natural that the rimes present E. oi : ai then occurring should be based upon this pronunciation of the oi-words. Yet, in Dryden's rimes (Dierb. l. c.) μɛ ī is rimed, not only with *join* (numerous), *loins, coin, purloin; soil, spoil, toil; destroy* (1 case), which present no difficulty, but also with *(en)joy* (7 cases); and among the rimes quoted from Waller by Mead p. 104, there are *side : employ'd* (1 case); *employ : die* (1 case). — Dierb. l. c. holds — on the authority of foreign grammarians — that Dryden knew a pronunciation μɛ ŭi (= μɛ ī) in *(en)joy* as well as in the other present E. oi-words rimed with μɛ ī; Luick, E. St. l. c., after pointing out that such a form of *(en)joy* could hardly be a ME variant not found until Dryden, is of opinion that the rimes are licences, = μɛ ī : μɛ ŏi. — Now, it is certainly not extraordinary, that the variation μɛ ŏi ~ μɛ ŭi (o̯i) in many words (mentioned by Wallis in *oil, toil,* and by Gill in several words, cf. above) should call forth μɛ ŭi-variants of the words formerly pronounced only with μɛ ŏi; and this analogical development — which is probably the origin of orthoepistical notations such as Hodges' μɛ ŭi in *royal* (Ekw. l. c.), Price's »oi» (χ »oy») in e. g. *noise, poise* (Luick, Anglia l. c.), Jones' μɛ ŭi (= μɛ ī) in e. g *poise* and »abusively» in *decoy, loyal, royal, voyage* (Ekw. l. c.) — may very well be at the bottom of Dryden's (and Waller's) rimes μɛ ī : *(en)joy* (,*employ*). 221

Yet the possibility is not excluded that Dryden and Waller (and their contemporaries) actually rimed μɛ ī : μɛ ŏi, and that they did so in their own opinion on the authority of older usage. Even in case they could not hit upon any older rimes of μɛ ī to the very words *(en)joy, employ,* other rimes such as Spenser's μɛ ī : *annoy, destroy* might be rimes μɛ ī : μɛ ŏi according to their pronunciation and lead them to the conclusion that rimes μɛ ī : μɛ ŏi in general were a license authorized by older usage. Their rimes μɛ ī : μɛ ŏi would be the more easily explained if we might assume that they did not themselves use the pronunciation μɛ ŭi (= μɛ ī) but based the rimes present E. ai : oi exclusively

or mainly on older authority; yet there does not seem to be sufficient reason for making this assumption.

222 POPE's rimes (cf. §§ 51, 91) are to be judged like Dryden's; with the difference, of course, that the rimes *(en)joy* : μɛ ī may be direct loans from Dryden (or other 17th c. poets). At any rate, the result is the same as in the case of Dryden's rimes: it cannot be decided with any degree of certainty whether all Pope's rimes present E. ȯi : ai were meant to be = μɛ ī : μɛ ī, or whether some are (traditional or quasi-traditional) rimes μɛ ī : μɛ ȯi. The rimes present E. oi : oi prove as little as Spenser's, because Pope very probably knew the pronunciation μɛ ȯi in all oi-words.

223 In BYRON's time the pronunciation μɛ ī of *-oi-* had long been regarded as vulgar (cf. Walker, Princ. 299), and his rimes (cf. §§ 51, 91, 92) present E. ai : oi are certainly based upon older usage. As all present E. oi-words were equivalent in his pronunciation, it is only natural that he rimes μɛ ī : *choice, voice*, etc. as well as : *boil, coil*, etc.

Present E. ij.

224 SPENSER. Rimes. Irrelevant or uncertain cases, see §§ 30, 31, 33, 52, 53, 86, 94, 99, 100, 101, 109. — For *kaies* (= keys) : μɛ ai cf. § 109; for *seize* : μɛ ī cf. §§ 86, 216.

μɛ ę̄ : μɛ ī (numerous). *forgive* : *drive* inf. : *live* : *grieve* 404 a. μɛ ę̄ : μɛ ĭ (few certain cases, § 94).

μɛ ę̄ : μɛ ē̤ (not very numerous, § 53; equivalent cases §§ 102, 109).

μɛ ē̤ : μɛ ĭ (?) (*prison* : μɛ ē̤ 536 a, see § 245 f.). μɛ ē̤ : μɛ ĕ (not very numerous, § 102); + : *break* 314 a (§ 179). μɛ ē̤ : *break, great* (§ 109; numerous. Equivalent cases § 179). μɛ ē̤ : μɛ ā (numerous; § 109. For equivalent cases cf. § 252). μɛ ē̤ : μɛ ai (very few; cf. § 109).

The rimes make it obvious that μɛ ę̄ is an [ī]-vowel, μɛ ē̤ an [ē̤]-vowel in Spenser's pronunciation. The few rimes remaining as μɛ ē̤ : μɛ ę̄ after due allowance being made for surviving ME variants (cf. §§ 53, 99, 100, 102, 109) cannot, of course, allow any conclusions as to Spenser's pronunciation of μɛ ę̄ and μɛ ē̤. The rimes may be purely traditional, as rimes of the same kind are found in many 15th & 16th c. poets (cf. Unna p. 22 f., and the references given there). On the other hand they might possibly imply an extension of the legitimate vacillation between μɛ ę̄ and μɛ ē̤ (in words like *read* etc.); though it seems rather improbable

that such an (analogical) vacillation should have existed in words as *wreak, entreat, tread; week, seek, feet, heed.*

POPE. Rimes. Irrelevant or uncertain cases, see §§ 54, 95, 103. — For the rime *key* : *weigh* 493, cf. § 109. 225

μɛ ę̄ : μɛ ī (4 cases). μɛ ę̄ : μɛ ĭ (few cases; § 95). μɛ ę̄ : μɛ ĕ (§ 103, few certain cases; for rimes to *tread* etc., cf. § 244).

μɛ ę̄ : μɛ ę̄ (numerous).

μɛ ę̄ : μɛ ĭ (*con-, per-, receive* : *live*, 1 case; : *give*, 11 cases). μɛ ę̄ : μɛ ĕ (§ 103; rather numerous, especially | *st;* for rimes to *dead* etc., cf. § 244). μɛ ę̄ : *break, great* (2 and 12 cases respectively). μɛ ę̄ : F. ê (1 case). *speaks* : *makes* : *breaks* 85. μɛ ę̄ : μɛ ā & μɛ ai (numerous).

In fact, all these rimes might be due to traditional influence — cf. Spenser's rimes above; further Dryden, Dierb. e. g. § 4 ff. (μɛ ę̄ : μɛę̄; μɛ ę̄ : μɛ ā & μɛ ai), § 18 ff., § 36 (μɛ ę̄ : μɛ ĕ), § 80 (μɛ ę̄ : μɛ ĭ); etc. — and consequently no certain conclusions as to Pope's pronunciation of μɛ ę̄ and μɛ ę̄ can be drawn from their occurrence. But the fact that there are numerous rimes μɛ ę̄ : μɛ ā & μɛ ai)(no rimes μɛ ę̄ : μɛ ā & μɛ ai, certainly justifies the conclusion that Pope made in his pronunciation — or, at least, knew — a difference between μɛ ę̄ and μɛ ę̄. The rimes μɛ ę̄ : μɛ ī are of no use, as they are limited to rimes between words spelt *-i-*. — To obtain further results as to Pope's pronunciation we have to turn to the orthoepists of his time. To judge from their statements, μɛ ę̄ changed from an [ē]- to an [ī]-vowel about 1700 (cf. Ekw. § 175, and the references given there). So it is very probable that Pope knew and used in his rimes two pronunciations of μɛ ę̄ : one (more conservative) = an [ē]-vowel (probably very close, cf. Cooper's statements, Ellis p. 82 f.), the other (more modern) = an [ī]-vowel, identical with the [ī]-vowel < μɛ ę̄. — By this duality of pronunciation the incorrectness of Pope's rimes to μɛ ę̄ is considerably reduced. The rimes μɛ ę̄ : μɛ ĕ, which — as far as they were really meant as such, cf. §§ 103, 244 — remain as very incorrect, are to be considered as directly traditional (not quasi-traditional as in Byron, cf. below).

BYRON. Rimes. Irrelevant or uncertain cases, see § 104. 226 — For the rime *quay* : *away*, cf. § 109.

μɛ ę̄ : μɛ ę̄ (numerous; in CH alone about 80 cases, cf. § 55).

ravine : *pine* 613 b. μɛ ę̄ & μɛ ę̄ & μɛ ēr (3 cases) : μɛ ĭ (numerous; § 95, cf. § 175). μɛ ę̄ & μɛ ę̄ & μɛ ēr (2 cases) : μɛ ĕ (numerous; § 104). *heaven, seven* : *(for)given* : *even* (2 cases). μɛ ę̄ &

μɛ ę̄ : *break* (8 cases). *seat* : *-tête* : *bête* 803 a. *speak* : *break* : *take* 365 a. μɛ ę̄ : μɛ ā (7 cases). μɛ ę̄ : μɛ ai (*veil* : *conceal* : *seal* 808 a). *death* : *beneath* : *faith* 674 b. *devil* : *evil* : *cavil* 711 a.

Byron's rimes μɛ ę̄ : μɛ ā & μɛ ai (& F. ê) are so few, and contain so few μɛ ę̄-words, that the absence of rimes of μɛ ę̆ to correspond may well be put down to mere chance. In his rimes to other vowels (the solitary rime to μɛ ī is of course of no importance) Byron makes no marked difference between μɛ ę̆ and μɛ ę̄, whose identity in his pronunciation is, besides, fully proved already by the enormous number of rimes μɛ ę̄ : μɛ ę̄. Thus, Byron's rimes μɛ ę̄ : μɛ ĕ are equivalent to his rimes μɛ ę̄ : μɛ ĕ, and consequently justified, in his opinion, not only by the (comparatively rare) occurrence of rimes μɛ ę̆ : μɛ ĕ in older poets but also by the (very frequent) occurrence of rimes μɛ ę̄ : μɛ ĕ; i. e. the rimes μɛ ę̆ : μɛ ĕ are quasi-traditional in Byron [As to the possibility of Sc. E. influence in Byron's rimes μɛ ē & μɛ ēr : μɛ ĕ, cf. § 248, end].

227 Swinburne. Rimes.

μɛ ę̆ : μɛ ę̄ (numerous; in SBS alone about 120 cases; cf. § 55).

μɛ ę̆ & μɛ ę̄ & μɛ ēr (1 case) : μɛ ĭ (numerous). *beneath, wreath, even* : μɛ ĕ (4 cases). μɛ ę̄ : μɛ ā (1 case). — μɛ ę̆ and μɛ ę̄ are of course both = present E. ij in Swinburne's pronunciation. The rimes to μɛ ĭ are certainly intended to be rimes v̄l : v̆l; the rimes to μɛ ĕ & μɛ ā are strictly traditional cases.

228 **Present E. iə.**

a. Development of ME ę̄ & ę̆ before *r* (final).

Luick U. § 331 ff. discusses the early Mod. E. results of ME ę̄ & ę̆ before *r*. If we arrange the words mentioned by Luick l. c. according to the pronunciation given there, we get the following three groups.

Group 1) = early Mod. E. [ī]. Contains some Teut. words with ME ę̄ : *steer, leer, deer, beer;* and Rom. words : *appear, clear, arrears, mere, peer, cheer.*

Group 2) = early Mod. E. [ē] ~ [ī]. Contains words with ME ę̄ ~ ME ę̆, e. g. *fear, year, bier;* some words with ME ę̄ : *hear, dear, dreary, weary, here, fere* s.; and some words with ME ę̄ : *ear, sear, near, tear* s., *shear, smear, spear, gear.*

Group 3) = early Mod. E. [ē]. Contains the words *bear* s.,

bear v., *wear*, *tear* v., *swear*, *pear* s.; *ere* (< OE æ[1], cf. § 53), *there*, *where*, *were* (< OE æ[2], cf. § 53). To this group should be added *e'er*, *ne'er* (= ever, never); [ē] is given in *ne'er* by Gill, and in *e'er* by Hart (? Jespersen § 10) and Jones (yet ~ [ī], Ekw. § 185).

cheer is given by Gill with [ē] (in *cheerful*) and may accord- 229
ingly be removed to group 2). And, in fact, it seems very probable that an alternative pronunciation with [ē] has existed in early Mod. E. in all the words contained in group 1) above.[1] Such a pronunciation is indicated by the spelling (*-ea-*), adopted by the literary language in *appear*, *clear*, *arrear(s)*[2], possibly also by the spelling (*-e-*) in *mere*. Besides, the spelling *-ea-* occurs, more or less frequently, also in the other words of group 1). *deer* : NED . . . »6-7 deare» . . ., quot. from Shakespeare 1605; cf. also Viëtor Sh. § 25. *leer* v. : NED . . . »also 6 lere, 6-7 leare, leere» . . .; quotations with *-ea-* numerous, the latest from Bunyan 1666. [Of *leer* s. (OE hlēor) NED gives no *-ea-*forms; but this may be due to the fact that — to judge from the quotations in NED — the word was going out of use in the 16th c., i. e. at the time when the orthographic distinction *ee* (= μɛ ę̄)): *ea* (= μɛ ę̄) was being introduced.] *beer* : NED . . . »6-7 bear(e» . . .; no quotations with *-ea-* are given; one case is recorded by Diehl p. 30 from 1602. *cheer* : NED . . »5-7 cheare, 6-8 chear» . . .; quotations with *-ea-* numerous. Spenser generally spells *-ea-*. *peer*, *steer* s. & v. are as a rule spelt *-ea-* in Spenser (cf. B. §§ 62-64). — Of words spelt *-ee-* in the literary language which are not mentioned by Luick (because not mentioned by the orthoepists) may be quoted *jeer* : NED . . . »(appears c. 1550) . . . 6 geare . . . 7 jear(e» . . . (Spenser *geare* 108 b); *fleer* : NED . . . »6-8 flear(e» . . (Spenser *fleare* 519 b); *queer* : NED records no forms with *-ea-*, but *quere* and *quer* from the 16th & 17th c.

sheer a. does not seem to be mentioned by the 16th and 17th c. orthoepists (Hart's *shēr*, Jespersen § 10, is no doubt = *shear*). The word probably had ME ę̄ ~ ē (< OE *æ[1]; cf. Skeat,

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[1] This assumption has already been made by Viëtor Sh. § 25 in the case of Shakespeare's rimes. Cf. also Horn Gr. § 85.

[2] Ellis' statement p. 1002 that Jones gives *arrears* with μɛ ę̄ seems to be founded only on the fact that this word is not found in Jones' list of words (Ekw. p. 47) in which *ea* is pronounced = μɛ ē. This may however very well be due to omission; e. g. *dreary*, *weary*, *fear*, are not mentioned there either.

Et. D., and Björkman p. 125), the 16th c. spelling *-ee-* (Spenser has *-eere* 432 a, *-ere* 167 b, 259 b, *-eare* 218 b) no doubt goes back upon ME ę̄. — The fact that *-ee-* finally became the only spelling in the literary language may be due, to some extent at least, to the want of differentiation (χ *shear*); as may also be the case of the spelling *-ee-* in *deer* (χ *dear*), *leer* (χ *le(a)re* s.), *beer* (χ *bier, bear*), *peer* (χ *pear*).

As for the use of the words of group 1) in Spenser's and Pope's rimes, see below § 232 ff.

230 The origin of this vacillation [ē] ~ [ī] in the words of groups 1) & 2) is probably to be sought in the words with ME ę̄r. As I have tried to show above (cf. also Viëtor Sh. § 25), ME ę̄r appears in the 16th c. as μɛ ę̄ + r ~ μɛ ę̄ + r, a variation possibly due (cf. Grundr. § 97, B. § 61, Horn Gr. § 85) to a mixing of the results of two different developments of ME ę̄r, originally localized in different dialects. This variation in the words with ME ę̄r — probably supported by a similar variation in some words with ME ę̄r ~ ę̄r (yet in some words of this kind : *there, where, were,* such a variation is not recorded) — seems to have gradually encroached (= Horn Gr. § 87) upon words with certain ME ę̄: (*ear* etc.), in which a pronunciation with [ī] appears too early to be accounted for by the general change μɛ ę̄ > [ī]. The words of group 3) seem however to have constantly resisted this analogical influence (except for Jones' [ī] ~ [ē] in *e'er*, cf. § 228). In many of the words this may be due to the want of differentiation : *bear* (χ *bier*), *tear* v. (χ *tear* s.), *pear* (χ *peer*), *ere, e'er* (χ *ear*); *e'er, ne'er* may also have been influenced by [ĕ] in *ever, never*; *wear* also by *bear* v.; and in *there, where, were,* the [ē]-forms had the support of weak-stressed [ĕ]-forms, expressly recorded in the case of *there, where* by Mason, cf. Brotanek p. XXI; for *were* cf. § 170. — Further, the words of group 3) remained on the whole unaffected by the general change of ME ę̄ > [ī] at the end of the 17th c. The fact that the words of group 3) did not share the early vacillation [ē] ~ [ī] while probably all other ME ēr-words (= present E. iə) did, certainly gives the impression that the words of group 3) represent the regular development of the early (= 16th c.) [ē] | r, and that it is only the early (= 16th c.) [īr]-variants of the words of groups 1) & 2) that are the phonetic basis of present E. iə in these words. This is in fact the theory proposed by Luick l. c. (and later adopted by Horn Gr. l. c.), and it certainly accounts for the main facts of

the case; yet there remain a few points which require some further discussion.

There is no certain evidence of a distinction of the words of 231
group 3) from the [ē]-words in general (i. e with μɛ ę̄) till after the middle of the 17th c. Bll's »ba'r» (= μɛ ā) for *bear* s. (Hauck p. 32) and occasional early spellings *-a-*, *-ai-* in words of group 3) (cf. Horn Gr. § 86, Diehl p. 32; besides NED) need not be due to an early »broadening» (by *-r*) of [ē] : Bll's μɛ ā in *bear* is derived by Hauck l. c. from [ă] < ME ĕ|r; and early *-a-* & *-ai-* spellings occur also in such words as *gear, spear, mean, seal, steal* (Diehl l. c.) and consequently prove nothing in the present case. — But Cooper (p. 57 ff.) expressly states that the vowel in *bear, swear, tear, wear* is = μɛ ā, and different from μɛ ę̄ (= Ellis' »Second ea», probably a sound between [ę̄] and [ī] in Cooper's pronunciation, cf. Ellis p. 83); and Miège who gives μɛ ę̄ = »long *é masculin*» (Ellis p. 84), transcribes *bear* s. and *pear* (»une poire») as *bair, pair* (i. e. = μɛ ā, Ellis p. 71). If this vowel in *bear* etc. was due to the influence of *-r*, we should expect to find the same vowel in present E. iə-words of which early [ēr]-forms still existed at that time; and, in fact, it appears in Cooper's *shear* (Ellis. Cooper's [īr] in *arrear, besmear*, etc., and in *shears*, of course represents early [īr]-forms of these words). But by the side of this pronunciation of the early [ēr]-forms there existed another, in which the vowel of these forms was still identified with ME ę̄ in general, i. e. = μɛ ę̄. This latter pronunciation actually appears in Cooper's μɛ ę̄-forms of *wear, forswear* (Ellis p. 82), and it is further implied in many words e. g. by Miège's general rule that the E. long *e* & *ea* are = »long *é masculin*» (which is besides expressly given in *sphere*, Ellis' lists), by Jones' »e» in *there, where, were* and in *sphere*, etc. (cf. § 239), as well as in *sea, plea, these, blaspheme*, etc. (Ekw. p. 39 f.), and possibly — in the case of some (or all?) present E. iə-words — by Bailey's statements (cf. § 239). Thus it is obvious that the present E. iə in the words of groups 1) & 2) need not be due exclusively to the early [īr]-variants of these words but can be derived as well from the early [ēr]-variants, viz. in the case of words of which such variants still existed (with μɛ ę̄) at the time of the change of μɛ ę̄ > [ī]. Further, this pronunciation with μɛ ę̄ is no doubt the basis of EO's [ī] in *ere, pear* (Ellis p. 88 f.) and of the [ī]- & [ie]-forms of present E. eə-words given by foreign orthoepists about 1700 [e. g. König 1706 in *forswear* & *wear* (cf. Cooper),

Ludwig 1717 in *ere, e'er, ne'er*; Nicolai 1693 in *where, there*; cf. further Viëtor El. § 53 Anm. 5; Löwisch p. 54 f.]; as far as these notations represent actually existing pronunciations and are not mere mistakes or mere theoretical prescriptions, cf. Lediard's rule (Ellis p. 1041) that *there, where, were* should be pronounced with [ī], though they were pronounced with [ē] »by bad habit».

The 17th c. pronunciation with μɛ ā naturally leads to the present E. eə in *bear* etc. Already EO (Ellis p. 88) and Lediard[1] (Ellis pp. 1041, 1044; Löwisch p. 55) give μɛ ā — with the exceptions or restrictions indicated above — in all words of group 3) (§ 228); except that *e'er, ne'er* are not mentioned in their lists as given by Ellis. — But there remains the question how the μɛ ā-pronunciation came to be so quickly established in these words, whilst, with the exception of Cooper's *shear* (see above),[2] we find in the orthoepists no traces of this pronunciation in the case of the present E. iə-words. This difficulty will be solved by assuming that the μɛ ā-pronunciation in question has entered the standard language, in the case of the present E. eə-words concerned, by the way of the vulgar language of London, where it is was due to an *r*-influence (cf. the present E. ɔɔ and aa in *off* etc., *sort* etc., *glass* etc., *harm* etc., which have probably come from the same quarter). — This theory explains the fact that the present E. eə-words concerned are all common every-day words; while learned loan-words of which surviving [ēr]-forms are actually recorded — or else probable — in the latter half of the 17th c. (incl. Jones), cf. § 239, appear only with present E. iə, no doubt because these words did not often occur in the language of every-day life, at least not among the lower classes of people (cf. the present E. distinction between ɔɔ in *cloth, cross, frost, froth, loss, off*, and ɔ in *broth, dross, loft, moss*, Horn Gr. § 59, which may have a similar cause). Of the present E. iə-words which are likely to have been used in the London vulgar language, early [ēr]-variants

[1] In fact, Lediard gives μɛ ā only in *there, where, were* (as a »bad habit», instead of [ī]); in *bear* etc. (as also in e. g. *break, great, beard, earl*) he gives »long *e*» (Ellis). But this special [ē]-sound in *bear* etc. is, no doubt, simply a mistake on his part, due to the spelling (*-ea-*).

[2] Sheridan's [ē] in *mere* s., mentioned by Luick U. § 332, may be due to influence of a weak-stressed [ĕ]-form (developed in compounds of the word); cf. Kenrick: »*Mere* or *mer*, whether in the beginning, middle, or end of a word ...».

will, as a rule, no longer have existed (in that language) at the time of the *r*-influence here considered; or, if they did exist in some cases (cf. Cooper's *shear*, above, and the late [ē]-forms mentioned § 239, beginning), there probably coexisted with them early [ĭr]-variants of the same words. — This theory also accounts for the fact that Jones, as late as 1701, identifies the vowel in *there, where, were,* with μɛ ę̆ ⟩(EO's μɛ ā in these words only three years later: Jones did not record the pronunciation of London, cf. Ekw. §§ 49, 176.

In this connection it may be pointed out that the early (i. e. 16th & early 17th c.) [ē]- forms of present E. əə- words as *earl, earn, search,* etc. as long as they survived alongside with the [ĕ]-variants by which they were finally supplanted, seem to have had the same development as the words *bear* etc. Cooper (Ellis p. 82) gives μɛ ā (as in *bear* etc.) in (*beard,*) *earl, early, earn, earnest, learn, rehearse, searce, search, potsheard;* Lediard (Ellis p. 1044) gives »long *e*» (probably = μɛ ā, cf. p. 124, foot-note 2) in (*beard,*) *earl, early*; and Kenrick still remarks to *earn*: »This word, like many others with *ea,* is pronounced both short» (i. e. with μɛ ĕr) »and long» (i. e. with μɛ ā). — EO's [ī] in *yearn* (Ellis p. 89) probably originates in a pronunciation with μɛ ę̄ (cf. his [ī] in *ere, pear,* above). Early (i. e. 16th & early 17th c.) [ī]-variants of the words here considered are not recorded (Horn Gr. § 83,2 mentions early Mod. E. [ī]-forms of *pearl, perch,* but does not tell how early they appeared). The words *beard, fierce, pierce,* in which an early variation [ē]~[ī] actually existed (cf. Horn Gr. §§ 83,2, 85 & Anm.), were evidently too few to call forth analogical [ī]-variants of the words with [ē.ᶜ]; besides the [ē]-forms of these words were supported by the contemporary (cf. § 344) μɛ ĕ (and μɛ ă)-variants (cf. *there, where, were,* § 230). These variants may, of course, also have contributed, later, to distinguish the vowel of the [ē]-variants from μɛ ę̆.

b. Rimes to μɛ ēr (= present E. iə).

A. Spenser. Rimes. Irrelevant or uncertain cases, see §§ 232 32, 110, 172.

μɛ ēr : μɛ ēr (ME ę̆r & ME ę̄r), see below.

μɛ ēr : μɛ ī (3 cases). μɛ ēr : *bear* etc. (= group 3) above) (numerous). μɛ ēr : μɛ ĕr (*heard* pret. : *afeard* : *inferd* : *appeard* 399 b). μɛ ĕr : μɛ ār (10 cases, § 110; equivalent is *appeard* : *heard* pp. : *fared* : *stared* 329 a, § 215). μɛ ēr : μɛ air (2 cases,

§ 110; equivalent? *fyres* : *spheres* : *yeres* : *theirs* 296 a; cf. § 176). *regard* : *reard* 202 a (cf. § 282).

The rimes do not give any authority for a group 1) with a fixed pronunciation [ī]. As to the Teut. words assigned to that group above, *beer* and *leer* do not occur in Spenser's rimes; to the rest : *deer, steer* s., *steer* v. — to which may be added *fleer, jeer* of uncertain origin (: NED) — the rimes are as follows.

steer v. *feare* : *steare* : *cleare* : *appeare* 149 a; *heard* s. : *beard* : *heard* pret. : *steard* 203 a. — *steer* s. *steeres* : *peeres* : *feares* 426 a; *speares* : *steares* : *heares* s. 126 b; *deare* : *Steare* 222 a; *feare* : *steare* : *beare* v. : *heare* v. 261 b; *steare* : *beare* v. : *teare* v. : *neare* 397 b. — *deer. dear* a. : *heare* s. : *teare* v. : *deare* s. 24 b; *dere* : *there* 417 b. — *fleer. fleare* : *eare* 519 b. — *jeer. reare* : *cheare* v. : *forbeare* : *geare* 108 b.

sheer a. (cf. § 229, end) is rimed : μɛ ī 167 a, : *appear, clear, near, spear* 218 b, 259 b, 432 a. — For rimes to *brere* (= brier), *enquere* (= enquire), cf. § 237.

233 Of the Romance words with present E. iə, *sphere* need not be taken into consideration, because it is given with [ē] by 17th c. orthoepists (Ellis p. 1015); the [ē]-form is probably due to re-adoption from Latin or French, cf. Ekw. § 204. The rimes are : *sphere* (spelt *-ea-* 79 b, 295 b, 435 a, 581 b, and *-e-*) : *appear, clear, fear, hear* v., *year* 79 b, 295 b, 435 a, 581 b; *sphere* : *were, enquere* 66 a; *spheres* : *theirs* (?, see § 10) 603 a; *spheres* : *fyres, yeres, theirs* (?, see § 10) 296 a. — To *sincere* (17th c. [ē], Ellis p. 1015) there is only one rime, *sincere* : *feare* : *reare* 505 b; as well as to *severe* (: *arere* : *crueller* 509 b). — *tabrere* (= tambour-ier)[1] is found only in the rime : *chere* s. 458 b.

234 The remaining Romance words with present E. iə which are used as rimes by Spenser, i. e. *clear, appear, cheer, peer, arrear,* are rimed as follows (of the rimes to groups 1), 2), 3) above (§ 228) I give only those occurring p. 446-p. 608 of the Globe Ed.).

Rimes to group 1). *clear, appear, cheer, peer,* rimed *inter se* 452 b, 481 a, 552 b, 579 a, 579 a, 583 a, 602 b, 604 a [+ 458 b, cf. *tabrere* above]. — Rimes to group 2). *clear, appear, cheer, peer*[1] : *(en)dear, ear* (OE ēare), *fear, hear, here, near, (up)rear, tear, year* 471 b, 484 a, 484 a, 490 a, 494 b, 507 b, 510 b, 513 a, 513 b, 521 a, 527 a, 532 a, 535 a, 538 a, 540 b, 540 b, 549 a, 554 b, 557 b, 560 b, 561 b, 585 a, 593 a, 595 b, 596 a, 604 a, 607 a, 608 a

[1] The endings *-ere,* in words as *messengere* etc., have as a rule been disregarded here.

[+ *yeare* : *spheare* : *cleare* : *appeare* 581 b]. — Rimes to group 3) [+ words of group 2)]. *clear, appear, cheer, peer* : *bear* s., *bear* v., *there, wear, were, where* [+ *dear, fear, (y)fere* s., *hear, near, sear* a., *spear*] 448 a, 455 a, 468 a, 481 b, 492 a, 494 b, 496 a, 498 a, 505 a, 523 a, 531 b, 537 b, 539 a, 541 a, 544 a, 550 a, 551 b, 579 b, 581 a, 596 a, 598 a, 603 a, 606 a, 608 b. Equivalent to these last are the rimes *appeard* : *sweard* (= sword) [+ *(up)reard, affcard*] 244 b, 245 a, cf. § 49. The rimes *appear(')d* : *heard* pret. & pp. 261 b, 369 b are equivalent to the »Rimes to group 2)» above, as an [ī]-pronunciation of *heard*, no doubt due to the analogy of *hear*, is recorded by Bll, cf. § 169. Finally there are a few rimes containing μɛ ā, one to *arrear* and four to *appear*, cf. §§ 110, 215; and the rime *heard* pret. : *afeard* : *inferd* : *appear'd* 399 b, cf. § 172.

From these rimes it can surely be concluded that Spenser 235
did not pronounce the words with ME ę̄r & ę̄r in accordance with the distinctions made in groups 1), 2), 3), above. B. § 61 is of opinion (= Luick E. St. 26, 265) that the great number and frequent use of the words of group 3) should be made to account for the great number of rimes to the words of this group; but this explanation cannot be applied to the distribution of the rimes of group 1) to group 2) and group 3) respectively, because the words of group 2) are far more numerous than the words of group 3), and the former group, besides, contains several words of very frequent occurrence in Spenser's rimes [In the rimes are found all the words expressly given in group 2), above § 228, and further the equivalent *heare* (= hair, see § 32), *le(a)re* s. (cf. § 32; OE æ[1], cf. § 53; not recorded by the orthoepists), *(up)rear* (OE æ[1]; 16th c. & 17th c. [ē]; probably meant by Jones' *rere* with [ē], Ekw. § 183); *blear* v. (ME ę̄; 17th c. [ī], Ellis p. 1003); and all are rimed both with group 3) (= present E. eə) and with groups 1) & 2) (= present E iə), except that *weary* is rimed only with *cherry* (= cherish) & *merry* (see § 99), that *sear* a. occurs only in the rimes 69 b, 242 b, 446 b, 481 b, which all contain words of group 3), *sear* v. only in *heard* pp. : *beard* : *afeard* : *seard* 70 b, *bleard* : *seard* : *appeard* 112 a; *blear* only in the rime 112 a just quoted; and *smear* only in *where* : *smere* 467 a. — For the Rom. words *sphere, sincere, severe, tabrere*, cf. § 233]. — Against B.'s opinion it can further be adduced that the rimes group 3) : μɛ ār & μɛ air (see § 60) are not superior in number to the rimes

[1] *arrear* is not rimed — except 509 b (§ 233) — to any word of groups 1), 2), 3) in p. 446-p. 608, but it occurs in such rimes 196 a, 214 a, 377 b.

group 2) : ɱɛ ār & ɱɛ air (see § 110); this might, however, be chance, as the rimes in question are few.

236 But if Spenser's rimes show that he did not observe the distinctions given in the three groups § 228, they cannot, on the other hand, be considered to prove, conclusively, that he consistently used the pronunciation assumed above as the most probable in his time, i. e. [ē] ~ [ī] in groups 1) & 2), [ē] in group 3). But they certainly make it probable that he did. A pronunciation [ī] is ascertained in the words *here, fear, sheer* a. by the rimes : ɱɛ ī (§ 87; cf. the numerous rimes ɱɛ ę̄ : ɱɛ ī § 86, ✗ no rimes ɱɛ ę̄ : ɱɛ ī) and, perhaps, by the spelling *-ee-* in *steer* s. 426 a, *peer* s. 426 a, 434 a, 481 a, etc.; *cheer* 471 b, *clear* 430 b, *sheer* a. 432 a, *here* 547 b, 588 a, *(en)dear* 471 b, 547 b, 595 b, *year* 521 a, *near* 432 a, 547 b, 588 a, *spear* 377 a. The pronunciation [ē] is ascertained in *appear, arrear, spear, tear* s., *near, fear, hear* v., *year, dear(,sphere)*, by rimes of these words to ɱɛ ār & ɱɛ air (§ 110); besides the occurrence of the spelling *-ea-*, more or less frequently, in all words — of groups 1) & 2) as well as of group 3) — (except *yfere* s., which has only *-e-*) points to a general pronunciation [ē], yet probably only alternative in groups 1) & 2).

237 Special cases. *brear(e), brere* [= present E. (poetical) »brere»; the form *brier, -ar* does not occur in Spenser]; OE : »WS. *brǽr*, Angl. *brér*, of unknown origin.» (: NED). The rimes are — : *fear, lere* v., *near, sear* a. 400 a, 449 b, 450 b, 484 a, 576 b; — : *bear* v., *where* 64 a, 458 a; *deare* a. : *beare* v. : *sweet-breare* : *heare* s. (= hair) 221 b. — *en-, requere* has — besides the form with ME ī, which also occurs in Spenser, rimed : ɱɛ ī — ME ę̄ (cf. ten Br. § 68), probably ~ ME ę̆ (< pres. ind., cf. ten. Br. § 67) and, possibly, ~ ME ĕ (B. § 64). The rimes are : *en-, requere* (spelt *-ire* 352 a, 414 b) : *fear, heare* (= hair), *spear, tear* s. 25 a, 92 b; — : *bear* v., *swear, there, wear, were* (+ *appear, fear, hear* v., *near, sphere (,prisonere)*] 15 a, 23 b, 41 a, 66 a, 213 b, 335 a, 352 b, 365 b, 414 b; *inquerd* : *herd* pp. 42 b. The last rime is possibly based upon a ME ĕ-form of *enquere* (= the spelling); cf. § 82.

238 B. Pope. Rimes [For the rimes to *fierce, pierce*, the rimes *appeared, revered* : *heard*, and the rime *peer* : *shire*, which are not included in the following review, see §§ 173 & 87].

Present E. iə : eə (cf. § 111). *Gazetteer, steer* s. : *bear* v. 174, 387. *appear, clear, dear, hear, here, fear, year, rear* v., *ear* (OE ēare), *ear* (OE ēar), *near, tear* s., *shear* v., *spear; sphere, atmo-*

sphere, sincere : *bear* etc., *parterre*, μɛ ār & μɛ air; (48 cases). — μɛ ēr : μɛ (w)ăr(ᵉ). *revere* : *star* 231. *appear'd* : *reward* 378. — μɛ ēr : μɛ ĕr. *hear, here* : *aver, refer* (2 cases; cf. *steer* v., *ear, year* : weak-stressed *-er*, 4 cases).

μɛ ēr : μɛ ēr. In these rimes occur a) *appear, clear, rear* s., *dear, hear, here, fear, year; rear* v. (: *appear, year*, 6 cases); *ear* (OE ēare), *near, tear* s., *spear; sphere* (: *ear, year*, 3 cases); *sincere* (: *severe* 2 cases; : *clear, hear, here, tear* s., 7 cases); *severe* (: *sincere*, 2 cases; : *steer* s., 1 case); *revere* (: *appeared, beard*, 2 cases); *beard* (: *rever'd*, 1 case); b) *beer, jeer, leer* v., *sneer, cheer, peer; mynheer* (: *appear* 183); *career, volunteer; barrier* (: *near* 198); *Poitiers* (: *peers* 297); *Moliere* (: *here* 369); *bier* s. — The words b) are used in 26 of these rimes; of rimes between the words a) *inter se* I have noted 121 cases (yet the rimes *appear* : *year, appear* : *tear* s., *ear* : *hear*, have not been taken down after pages 118, 172, 124 respectively, where 6 cases of each rime were noted).

The rimes μɛ ēr : μɛ ēr require no comment, as, to judge from the orthoepists, the pronunciation [ī] was certainly known to Pope in all the words concerned. The difficulty is to ascertain whether he knew also an [ē]-pronunciation of all or any of the words with μɛ ēr. — In the *-eer-* & *-ier*-words [= b) above] such a pronunciation is not probable in Pope's time. The 16th c. [ē]-forms assumed (cf. § 229) in such of these words as were in use at that time are not likely to have survived very long alongside with the increasingly prevalent spelling (*-ee-, -ie-*); and in fact we find that with isolated exceptions such as Jones' [ē] ~ [ī] in *bier* and his [ē?] ~ [ī] in *canonier* etc. (Ekw. §§ 183, 185, 195, 207), the *-eer-* & *-ier*-words are not distinguished by Ellis' authorities from the middle of the 17th c. down from the bulk of the words spelt *-ee-*. — Accordingly, Pope's two rimes *Gazetteer, steer* s. : *bear* (as well as *steer* v. : *character* 52) must be considered as phonetically incorrect rimes, due to tradition (cf. Spenser's rimes), unless Pope had in mind a pronunciation of *bear* with [ī], cf. § 261.

In the case of the *-ear-* & *-ere*-words [= a) above] matters are 239
more doubtful, as late [ē]-forms (= a more or less close ē, cf. § 231) are recorded of some words. Such are *affear'd* (?), *rear* v., *sphere, sincere, austere, adhere, cohere* [equivalent to these are probably the learned loans *atmosphere, revere, severe*, which are not found in Ellis' authorities until EO], in which [ē] is still

given by Jones (Ekw. §§ 183, 194, 195) while a pronunciation with [ī] is first recorded by orthoepists who identify μɛ ę̄ & μɛ ẹ̄; *ear, spear* (Price [ē], Ellis p. 82); *shear* (Cooper μɛ ā, cf. § 231). Besides it should be noticed that those of Ellis' authorities from the middle of the 17th c. down who distinguish μɛ ę̄) μɛ ẹ̄ (Ellis p. 81 ff.) differ considerably from each other in their lists of words spelt *-ea-* which have the exceptional pronunciation [ī] (= μɛ ẹ̄). Thus, for instance, we miss *appear* in Cooper, while on the other hand *sear* (= sere), *tear* s., are found only in Cooper's list; etc. Yet, this difference between the lists of the orthoepists allows of no certain conclusions; because the completeness of of such lists may always be called into question. — Still more conflicting are the rules of different foreign grammarians, quoted e. g. by Löwisch p. 53 ff.; to some of these an [ī]-pronunciation of the *-ear-* & *-ere*-words seems to be practically unknown about 1700 and later still, but this can of course be put down to mere ignorance on their part or to dependence on antiquated authorities. Finally, Bailey 1726 (Ellis p. 1049 f.) seems to prescribe an [ē]-vowel — apparently a very close [ē], standing between the vowel in *bear* etc. (= μɛ ā, Ellis l. c.) and [ī] — in *appear*, and he also seems to regard the same vowel in *dear, hear, year* as the general pronunciation of these words; but Bailey's statements are not very clear, at least not as recorded by Ellis. — At any rate, this review of the orthoepists leads to the conclusion that Pope may hawe known a pronunciation with [ē] (probably a very close [ē]) at least in some of the present E. iə-words with the spelling *-ear, -ere.* Such a pronunciation is in fact indicated by Pope's considerable number of rimes to μɛ ār & μɛ air (cf. Byron, § 240), and besides by the two rimes to *star* and *reward* (cf. § 238) which, if they had to be based on an [ī]-pronunciation of the present E. iə-words concerned, would be strangely incorrect in a careful rimer like Pope. [The rimes *above, dove, love* : *move* etc. cannot be adduced as parallels to these last rimes (as regards phonetic incorrectness); because in their case there is, besides the spelling and a singularly frequent use in older (especially 17th c.) poets, also the practical absence of correct rime-words to promote the maintenance of the rimes in spite of their great phonetical incorrectness.]

240 C. Byron. Rimes. Irrelevant or uncertain cases, see § 174. μɛ ēr : μɛ ēr (very numerous; not recorded).

μɛ ēr : μɛ ĕr, ŭr (4 cases). μɛ ēr : *bear* etc. (15 cases). μɛ ēr : μɛ ār (2 cases). μɛ ēr : μɛ ĭ (3 cases). μɛ ēr : μɛ ĕ (2 cases).

In Byron's time all μɛ ēr had long been united under an [ī]-pronunciation in standard English. And there is nothing in Byron's rimes that need be taken as a sign of his knowing an [ē]-pronunciation in any of the μɛ ēr-words. The great preponderance of *-ear*-words in the rimes μɛ ēr : *bear* etc. may be a case of spelling influence, as these rimes are limited, with only four exceptions, to rimes between words spelt *-ear* (cf. § 111); and the fact that there are no *-eer*-words among the rimes μɛ ēr : μɛ ār (§ 111) and : μɛ ĕr, ŭr (§ 174) proves nothing, because of the scarcity of both these groups of rimes in Byron. — The fact that rimes present E. iə : eə are far less numerous in Byron than in Pope, which is practically never the case with merely traditional rimes with about the same phonetic incorrectness in the times of both poets, directly points to some phonetic reason for the number of these rimes in Pope (cf. §§ 239, 261).

D. SWINBURNE. Rimes. Irrelevant or uncertain cases, see §§ 111, 174. 241

μɛ ēr : μɛ ēr (very numerous; not recorded).

μɛ ēr : μɛ ĕr & μɛ ŭr (4 cases). μɛ ēr : *there, were* (2 cases). μɛ ēr : μɛ ĭ & μɛ ĕ (*hear it* : *spirit* SSp 58; *spirit* : *inherit* : *merit* : *rear it* TL 200).

The rimes do not require any comment.

Present E. i and e. 242

a. μɛ ĕ < ME ę̄.

Already in ME, [ę̄] was to great extent shortened before consonant groups and long consonants; accordingly it is only natural that words like *bless, less*, etc. and the pret. & pp. *fed, led, shed*, etc. should be spelt *-e-* and rimed only : μɛ ĕ by SPENSER. In the same way Spenser treats also the words of this kind in which the literary language has adopted the spelling *-ea-*, e. g. *read, spread, meant* (pret. & pp.), *dread* a. (in Spenser also pret. & pp.); except that the spelling *-ea-* occurs in *read* 359 a, *dread* a. (?) 477 b, 557 a. — A curious exception is formed by the pret. & pp. *bred*, spelt *-ea-* 342 b and rimed : μɛ ę̄ 65 b, 342 b (see § 102; for *bred* : *hid, rid* (= read pp.) 429 b, 529 b, see § 96).

Of words with ME ę̄ | single (and short) final consonant, *red* a., *lend, let, wet*, are consistently spelt *-e-* and rimed : μɛ ĕ 243

in SPENSER. Only with the spelling *-e-* occur also *fret, get;* they are generally rimed : ɛ̆, but : ɛ̄ 396 a (*fret, get*), 105 a, 599 b, and (+ ɛ̆) 308 b (*get*), which latter rimes are probably based upon forms with unshortened vowel, cf. §§ 100, 106 [For *get* : ɪ̆ 24 a see § 96]. — In the words of this class which are spelt *-ea-* in the literary language (*bread, dead,* etc.) the orthoepists of Spenser's time show a vacillation between ɛ̄ and ɛ̆. Cf. Bll (Hauck pp. 42 ff., 48) : ɛ̄ in *spread, tread;* ɛ̆ in *threaten, head, breath, sweat* (s. or v. ? cf. Gill's pret. *swet,* and Spenser's *swet* pret. : *set* 283 a); Gill (Jiriczek's Wortliste) : ɛ̄ ~ ɛ̆ in *bread,*[1] *dead, head;*[2] ɛ̆ in *breath,*[1] (*goodli*)*head;* ɛ̄ in *death, instead, lead* s., *sweat* inf., *threating.* — Spenser's rimes (and spellings) show that in most of the words of this group he knew both pronunciations (the pronunciation of *dread* s. with ɛ̣, cf. § 99, is here disregarded). Thus, *bread, dead, dread* s., *head, -head,* (*in*)*stead, tread* v., occur spelt both *-ea-* and *-e-*, and rimed : ɛ̆ < ME ĕ, : ɛ̆ < ME ē̆, and : ɛ̄ [*tread,* spelt *tred,* also : ɛ̣ (& ɛ̄) 124 a, see § 102]. — *dread* v. is always spelt *-ea-*, and occurs — except in *lead* s. : *dread* 557 a — only in rimes containing ɛ̄ > present E. ij. *lead* s. is always spelt *-ea-*; it is rimed : *dead, dread* v. (& a. ?) 477 b, 481 a, 577 a; : ME ĕ (*fledde* pp., *hedde* (= head), *shedde* inf.) 464 b; further : ɛ̄ > present E. ij. *spread* inf. is spelt *-e-* except in *spread* : *bed* 591 a; it is always rimed : ɛ̆. On the other hand *thread* s. occurs only in rimes containing ɛ̄ > present E. ij (for *thrid* s. : ɪ̆ 240 b, see § 33), as does also *sweat* s. & inf., and *threat*(*en*) except in *threatt* : *nett* : *Jett* 115 a (and in a rime containing ɛ̄ 537 a, see § 102). *breath, death* are rimed only with each other and : ɛ̄ > present E. ij, except for *hath* : *death* 599 b (see §§ 268, 282). — For other present E. e-words with ɛ̄ ~ ɛ̆ in Spenser, see §§ 100, 101, 106; cf. also § 245, foot-note.

244 POPE. In Pope's time ɛ̆ was certainly the usual pronunciation of all the words *bread, breath, threat,* etc.; the difficulty is to ascertain whether a pronunciation ɛ̄ was also known to Pope in any of these words. The orthoepists quoted by Ellis p. 81 ff. unanimously give ɛ̆, except that ɛ̄ is given in *spread* by Price, in *sweat* by Cooper. Besides Jones states (Ekw. p. 40 f.) that *-ea-* in a number of words enumerated is sounded short (= ɛ̆) »or may be sounded short», an addition which implies

[1] Gill only ɛ̄ according to Horn Gr. § 82: 3.

[2] Gill only ɛ̆ according to Horn Gr. l. c.

that he knew also a pronunciation μɛ ę at least in some of the words enumerated (cf. Ekw. § 84); but as Jones' list contains e. g. *dear, reach, leap*, it is very possible that with his »may be» he has in view only these cases and not also *bread, dead*, etc.

Pope's rimes (§§ 103, 106, 114) are not conclusive on this point. The rimes *spread, tread, breath* : μɛ ę 165, 226, 323; *overspread* pp. : μɛ ę 165 would certainly be best explained as rimes μɛ ę : μɛ ę, which group is very numerous in Pope (see §§ 54, 225); but they may also be taken as rimes μɛ ĕ : μɛ ę, as there are some (though few) certain rimes of this kind. And in view of the numerous certain cases μɛ ĕ : μɛ ę, the rimes *dead, head*, etc. : μɛ ę may also very well have been meant for rimes μɛ ĕ : μɛ ę. — The rimes to present E. ei are of as little use in determining Pope's pronunciation of the words here concerned. — Of course the existence of the pronunciation μɛ ĕ is evidenced by numerous rimes : certain μɛ ĕ; examples do not seem necessary.

In Byron's and Swinburne's times, *bread* etc. have, of course, only [ĕ] (= μɛ ĕ) in standard E. pronunciation.

b. Quality of μɛ ĕ and μɛ ĭ. 245

Spenser. Rimes. Irrelevant or uncertain cases, see §§ 33, 34, 88, 89, 94, 96, 99, 100, 101, 106, 114, 160, 175, 211.

μɛ ĭ (?) : μɛ ī (cf. §§ 88, 175). μɛ ĭ : μɛ ę (few certain cases, § 94). *prison* : *reason* : *geason* : *season* 536 a.

μɛ ĭ : μɛ ĕ (rather numerous, § 96).

μɛ ĕ : μɛ ī (*inclynd* : *find* : *mind* : *attend* v. 576 a). μɛ ĕ : μɛ ę (few certain cases, § 102; equivalent is *break* : μɛ ĕ : μɛ ę 314 b, cf. § 259). μɛ ĕ : μɛ ŭ (few cases; § 159. For equivalent cases cf. § 339). [For the doubtful rimes *hath* : *death* 599 b, *creast* (= crest) : μɛ ăst 250 b, see § 282; for *gerle* : *fell* 427 a, cf. § 171.]

If the rimes given above § 96 B as μɛ ĭ : μɛ ĕ were actually felt as such by Spenser, they could be explained as traditional; rimes of this kind being rather common in ME, especially from the 13th c. down (cf. e. g. Morsbach Gr. § 114 Anm. 1). But it is not certain that they were felt as μɛ ĭ : μɛ ĕ by Spenser. Phonetic variants, usually originating in ME conditions, have been made to account (§ 96 A) for many rimes which would be = present E. i : e; and this mode of explanation could possibly be extended further. Thus the rimes *mixt* : *next* 482 b, *tremble* : *nimble* : *assemble* : *dissemble* 260 b (here could besides *nimble* stand for *nemble*, cf. Stratmann-Bradley; B. § 8), *resemblance* :

semblance : *hindrance* 340 a, *riches* : *wretches* 499 a, all contain *e*- words which, according to Luick St. p. 190 ff. have ME close [ĕ] > late ME (dialectal) [ĭ]; and the same explanation applies to the rime *attend* : ɱɛ ī 576 a (consequently = ɱɛ ĭ or close [ĕ] : slightly diphthongated ɱɛ ī, cf. § 216). On the other hand, the rimes *will* s., *ill*, *quill*, *skill* (,*-fill*, *chill*) : ɱɛ ĕ 261 a, 283 a, 410 b, 480 b [,208 b] — possibly also the uncertain *Daffodowndillies* : *Lillies* : *Delice* 456 a, though Salesbury has close [ĭ] in *lily*, cf. Sweet HES § 786 — tally with the ME spellings *-e-* for [ĭ] | *l*, which represent either a very open [ĭ] or even an [ĕ] (Morsb. Gr. § 114). Finally, the rimes *river* : (*n*)*ever*, *sever* 511 a, 528 b; *spirit* : *merit*, (*dis*)*inherit* 9 a etc. might be = ɱɛ ę̄ (< [ĭ-], according to Luick's law, cf. above e. g. § 94) : ɱɛ ę̄ (given ~ ɱɛ ĕ by Gill in *ever*, *never*; *meriting* is given by Gill with ɱɛ ĕ, as *severing* by Bll (Hauck p. 47) and *heritage* by Salesbury according to Ellis, but a 16th c. ɱɛ ę̄-pronunciation of *merit*, (-)*inherit*, *sever* is very probable, because the quantity of the stress vowel in numerous paroxytone (and proparoxytone) words is proved by orthoepists to have been, in early Mod. E., very unsettled or at least greatly differing from the present E. pronunciation).[1] To this group (ɱɛ ę̄ : ɱɛ ę̄) might also be counted the rime *prison* : ɱɛ ę̄ 536 a. The existence of a pronunciation ɱɛ ę̄ of *river*, *spirit* (,*prison*), in Spenser's time is however in no way evidenced, nor even probable (cf. below); so that the rimes to these words given above as ɱɛ ĭ : ɱɛ ĕ must still be accepted as such, as well as the rimes *afflict* : *infect* 502 b, *beheast* : *breast* : *repress* : *resist* 299 b, for which I have found no special explanation.

246 There is, however, still another possibility to be considered. Luick St. p. 208 f. is of opinion »dass jedes spät-me. *e* für *ĭ*-langes *e* anzeigt, u. zw. soweit nicht ae. *eo* oder kentisches *e* für *y* zu Grunde liegt, geschlossenes *ē*, geradeso wie im Norden»; and he holds it probable, St. p. 214 f., that this rule includes also Rom.

[1] Cf. e. g. Hart (Jespersen's lists) : ɱɛ ę̄ in *heaven*, *treasure*, ɱɛ ę̄ ~ ɱɛ ĕ in *better*, *seven(th)*, *easy*, *hebrew* (ɱɛ ę̄ in *legible*, ɱɛ ĕ in *experience*, *obedient*, ɱɛ ę̄ ~ ɱɛ ĕ in *reasonable*); Bullokar (Hauck p. 42 ff.) : ɱɛ ę̄ in *pleasant*, ɱɛ ę̄ ~ ɱɛ ĕ in *reason*(*able*) (ɱɛ ĕ in *superiors*, *inferiors*, *experience*); Gill (Jiriczek's lists) : ɱɛ ę̄ ~ ɱɛ ĕ in *heaven*, (*n*)*ever*, *Cæsar*, *cherish*, *present*, *reason*, *treasure*; ɱɛ ę̄ in *heavy*, *pleasant*, (*dis*)*pleasure*, *endeavour* (ɱɛ ĕ in *ingenious*, ɱɛ ę̄ in *angelical*). Cf. (for other vowels) Gill : ɱɛ ā ~ ɱɛ ă in *lady*, *nature*, *water*; ɱɛ ā in *Saturn*, ɱɛ ă in *hatred*, *naked*, *favour* (ɱɛ ā ~ ɱɛ ă in *majesty*); ɱɛ ǭ ~ ɱɛ ŭ in *courage*; ɱɛ ǭ ~ ɱɛ ŏ in *other*, *sober*; ɱɛ ŏ in *over* (and *openly*,) ɱɛ ǭ in *open*). — For ɱɛ ę̄ ~ ɱɛ ĕ in paroxytone words about 1700, see Ekw. § 167.

loan-words. If this was so in ME — which is, however, somewhat doubtful, cf. Dib. § 49 f. — it was certainly not so in Spenser's time; as appears from the *-e-* spellings for ME ĭ cited by Diehl p. 19 f. out of diaries and private letters mainly from the latter part of the 16th and the beginning of the 17th c. These *e*-spellings cannot stand for μɛ ę̄, in the first place because the spelling *-e-* is not used by Diehl's authorities in any case for certain μɛ ę̄ (cf. Diehl p. 29 ff.), and further because the *e*-forms are not limited to open syllables, but appear almost equally often in closed syllables where a μɛ ę̄ is, as a rule, out of the question [e. g. *comession, vessyons, untell, wel, beld, shellenges, cheldren, aprell, selver, Cornelle* (= Cornhill) *,bell, . . . tember, . . . hendrance, . . . resest,* etc.; *pete, cete, to vesette, . . . sperethes, conseder, thether, hether, empresonment, presoner, presoun, prevy, feneshe, lenen cloths,* etc.]. But these various *e*-forms could be brought under Luick's rule by assuming that the *e*-spelling in words like *pity, city,* etc. (= [ĭ-]), in late ME = μɛ ę̄, was kept traditionally, also later, when the words in question were generally pronounced with μɛ ĭ, and afterwards extended to words like *till, will,* etc. (= [ĭ] in closed syllable); so that *-e-* would be only a spelling for μɛ ĭ. But such a theory would be open to serious objections : in the first place we have μɛ ĕ expressly given in *hither* (Butler, Gill), *thither* (Lediard), *thistle* (cf. Viëtor El. § 16; Horn Gr. § 28); and further, if μɛ ĭ and μɛ ĕ were distinctly kept apart at the end of the 16th c., it is hard to conceive that the earlier *e*-spellings of *pity* etc. — which after all were only exceptions in the South — could have brought about such a number of *e*-spellings in both open and closed syllables as those quoted by Diehl. Neither, in view of their great number, can these *e*-forms well be interpreted as mere spellings for μɛ ĭ, due to the analogy of cases like *yet, get,* etc., (cf. § 96), which may have been pronounced with μɛ ĭ by many, and yet spelt *-e-* in accordance with the common usage. — Thus there is left only one conclusion to be made : that these *e*-forms had a phonetic basis. As they are, however, only exceptions, and as on the other hand there occur *i*-forms for μɛ ĕ as well (though not very numerous, cf. Diehl p. 17), also in cases which do not fall within Luick's rules for μɛ ĕ > μɛ ĭ (Luick St. p. 190 ff.), it seems probable that the numerous *e*-forms do not denote a change of μɛ ĭ towards, or even into, μɛ ĕ, but rather a variation μɛ ĭ ~ μɛ ĕ. This variation must in Spenser's time have been totally independent of the position of the vowels in

open or closed syllables as well as of their consonantal surroundings; though it may originate — apart from analogical influence of the vowel variation in words with OE y — in different treatment in different dialects of ME ĕ as well as of ME ĭ in special positions. — As this variation does not appear in the 16th c. orthoepists, who, except in very few words, distinguish strictly between μɛ ĭ and μɛ ĕ, it cannot have been universally adopted in Spenser's time. But, if it was not simply a dialectal peculiarity, it may have been a general tendency in the (colloquial ?) language, though opposed by people of learning, who had, in their knowledge of Greek and Latin and foreign languages generally, a corrective not available for other people. That Spenser knew, and (exceptionally) used in his rimes this variation μɛ ĭ ~ μɛ ĕ, is made probable by the rime *prison* : μɛ ę̄ 536 a, which certainly wants some special explanation. The rime *attend* : μɛ ī 576 a can be explained in the same way, or by μɛ ĕ > μɛ ĭ | n^c, cf. § 245; it could also be explained as traditional (cf. Luick U. § 483) [The existence of a pronunciation of *find* etc. with unlengthened OE ĭ (cf. Luick U. §§ 416, 483) is not probable in Spenser's time and cannot, at any rate, be inferred from this single rime]. — As to the rimes given above (§ 96) as μɛ ĭ : μɛ ĕ, it is impossible to decide, whether they are mainly due to this unconditional variation — i. e. unconditional as regards the consonantal surroundings —, or to survivals of different developments in ME (cf. above), or to traditional influence; or, perhaps, to all these factors combined; at any rate, they give no certain results as to Spenser's pronunciation. The rimes μɛ ĭ : μɛ ī and : μɛ ę̄; μɛ ĕ : μɛ ę̄ and : μɛ ŭ (as well as the anomalous cases 427 a, 266 a); demand an [i]-sound for μɛ ĭ an [e]-sound for μɛ ĕ; but they do not authorize any conclusions as to the (more or less close or open) quality of μɛ ĭ and μɛ ĕ in Spenser's pronunciation.

247 Pope. Rimes. Irrelevant or uncertain cases, see §§ 95, 97, 103, 114, 126.

μɛ ĭ : μɛ ę̄ (few cases). μɛ ĭ : μɛ ę̄ (*live* : μɛ ę̄ 1 case; *give* : μɛ ę̄ 11 cases; cf. § 95). *within* : *mean* v. : *spleen* 298 (cf. § 95). μɛ ĭ : μɛ ī (4 cases, incl. *live* : μɛ ī).

μɛ ĭ : μɛ ĕ (*will* : *tell* 147; *driven*, (-)*given* : *heaven*, 21 cases).

μɛ ĕ : μɛ ę̄ (§ 103, few certain cases; cf. also § 244). μɛ ĕ : μɛ ę̄ (§ 103, numerous, especially | *st*; cf. also § 244). μɛ ĕ (*neck*, *threat*) : *break*, *great* (2 cases). μɛ ĕ : μɛ ā (only *head*, *dead*, *bread*

: μɛ ā, 3 cases; cf. *Jerusalem* : μɛ ā 149). μɛ ĕ : μɛ ai (*prevail* : *hell* 42). μɛ ĕ : μɛ ă (*shadows* : *Meadows* n. pr. 478).

With the possible exception of the rimes *hence, yet, -get, devil* : μɛ ĭ, *hither, spirit, mirror* : μɛ ĕ, which are treated above § 97, Pope's rimes present E. i : e do not authorize any conclusions as to his pronunciation of the words used in these rimes; *will* : *tell* 147 is probably merely traditional (cf. Spenser's rimes), and the numerous rimes *heaven* : μɛ ĭ are typical emergency rimes, besides being authorized by frequent occurrence in the 17th c. poets (e. g. Dryden, Dierb. § 36; Waller, Mead p. 95). — The rimes μɛ ĭ : μɛ ę̄ are most probably = [ĭ] : [ī] (cf. § 225), as well as the rimes μɛ ĭ : μɛ ę̣; and the rimes μɛ ĭ : μɛ ī — phonetically quite incorrect — are due to tradition (cf. Spenser; further Dryden, Dierb. § 80) and to some extent certainly also to the likeness in orthography. — Of the rimes of μɛ ĕ, those to μɛ ā (if *head* etc. : μɛ ā are to be interpreted as such; cf. § 244), to μɛ ai, and to μɛ ă, are, in spite of their scarcity, of interest as being neither supported by spelling nor by tradition (no cases in Spenser; among Dierberger's quotations from Dryden's rimes I have found only the three cases *change* : *revenge* Dierb. § 34, *declaim* : *them* : *Jerusalem* Dierb. § 2, *laid* pp. : *fled* : *head* Dierb. § 36 (p. 41), note). — The rimes μɛ ĕ : μɛ ę̄ (cf. § 225) are certainly to some extent at least based upon tradition; the rimes to *break, great* are no doubt meant as [ē] : [ĕ] and require no comment; for the rimes to μɛ ę̣, see § 225.

Byron. Rimes. Irrelevant or uncertain cases, see §§ 88, 89, 98, 104, 108, 114, 126. 248

μɛ ĭ : μɛ ī (10 cases). μɛ ĭ : μɛ ēr (3 cases) & μɛ ę̄ & μɛ ę̣ (numerous, § 95; cf. § 175).

μɛ ĭ : μɛ ĕ (numerous). *heaven, seven* : *forgiven* : *even* 373 a, 709 b. *graven* : *heaven* : *driven* 365 a.

μɛ ĕ : μɛ ĭ (+ other vowels); see just above. μɛ ĕ : μɛ ēr (2 cases) & μɛ ę̄ & μɛ ę̣ (numerous). μɛ ĕ : *break, steak, great, wear* (4 cases; equivalent is μɛ ĕ : *tête* 712 b, possibly also *spirit* : (*merit* :) *bear* etc., 7 cases, cf. §§ 108, 178). μɛ ĕ : μɛ ā(r) & μɛ ai (numerous). μɛ ĕ : μɛ ă (12 cases, § 114; equivalent is probably *rather* : μɛ ĕ 376 b, cf. § 120). *death* : *faith* : *beneath* 674 b. *devil* : *evil* : *cavil* 711 a. μɛ ĕ : ME ă | lengthening cons. (3 cases). *warriors* : *fox-terriers* 732 b. μɛ ĕ : μɛ ŭ (9 cases).

In Byron's rimes we find a much freer use of the rimes μɛ ĭ : μɛ ĕ than in Pope's rimes. This fact does not, however, allow any

certain conclusions as to Byron's pronunciation of these vowels, because except for Bp and DJ in which Byron particularly often indulges in phonetically incorrect rimes, the rimes μɛ ĭ : μɛ ĕ are with few exceptions limited to cases like *hither, thither, whither* : μɛ ĕ, *together, devil* (+ *level*), *heaven* (+ *seven*), *ever, never* : μɛ ĭ, which are fully explained by their frequent occurrence in older poets (cf. Spenser and Pope). But there is of course the possibility of Sc. E. influence in Byron's rimes present E. i : e (cf. § 25). — It cannot be decided by the rimes whether Byron's μɛ ĕ was = the Sc. E. open vowel (cf. § 25). Of the rimes which seem to point that way, those of μɛ ĕ to present E. æ & aa prove little, because they are not numerous and, besides, Byron's pronunciation is uncertain as well with regard to present E. æ & aa generally as to some of the special words concerned (cf. §§ 266, 284). The remarkable rimes μɛ ĕ : μɛ ŭ do not prove much either as regards the pronunciation of μɛ ĕ (cf. § 342); and the solitary rime to *warriors* cannot prove anything by itself. — The great number of rimes μɛ ĕ : μɛ ē & μɛ ēr as against only one case μɛ ĭ : (μɛ ĕ :) μɛ ā, which latter type of rime is certainly not more incorrect phonetically than the former, is a telling instance of the power of tradition (and orthography). — Also in the case of these rimes μɛ ĕ : μɛ ē & μɛ ēr there is of course the possibility of Sc. E. influence (cf. Bell's »twinty» etc. § 25, and the Sc. (E.) peculiarities of vowel quantity § 24), but this factor need not be adduced, as the rimes are well explained by the influence of tradition (and orthography). Besides, this Sc. E. [ĭ]-pronunciation was (is) no doubt limited to special (groups of) words, and it does not appear from Bell to which; of the μɛ ĕ-words used by Byron in the rimes concerned, EDGr. gives Sc. [ĭ]-forms only of *stretch, bury* (Byron has *burial*), *devil, heaven* (all in »Abd» or »ne. Sc.»), and *tread* (»Sh I»; but [ĕ] in »ne. Sc.») [it must be added, however, that many of the μɛ ĕ-words used in Byron's rimes are not given in EDGr.].

249 SWINBURNE. Rimes. μɛ ĭ : μɛ ī ((-)*give* : μɛ ī, 2 cases). μɛ ĭ : μɛ ēr (1 case) & μɛ ē (numerous). μɛ ĭ : μɛ ĕ (numerous). *spirit* : *inherit* : *merit* : *rear it* TL 200.

μɛ ĕ : μɛ ĭ (+ μɛ ēr); see just above. μɛ ĕ : μɛ ē (*breath* etc., *saith* : *beneath* etc., 2 cases; *even* : *heaven*, 2 cases). μɛ ĕ : μɛ ā & μɛ ai (numerous). μɛ ĕ : μɛ ă (10 cases).

Swinburne's rimes μɛ ĭ : present E. ij, iə, and μɛ ĕ : present E. ei, are no doubt traditionally meant for rimes v̆l : v̄l, and need

no comment. The rimes ɹɛ ĭ : ɹɛ ī, ɹɛ ĭ : ɹɛ ĕ, ɹɛ ĕ : ɹɛ ē (& ɹɛ ēr), are almost exclusively limited to cases which may be explained both by tradition and by the lack of correct rime-words, and in some cases also by the similarity in spelling. For the rimes ɹɛ ĕ : ɹɛ ă cf. § 267.

c. Special cases. 250

I. *Any, many, said, says, saith.*

any, many. The ME variants *eny*, *meny* (cf. e. g. Dib. §§ 36, 61) do not appear in the statements of Ellis' authorities until Cooper's *many* with ɹɛ ĕ; though they have certainly existed throughout the Mod. E. period. Only the ME variants with ɹɛ ă are mentioned by the orthoepists of the 16th c. and the first half of the 17th c. In the 18th c. the pronunciation ɹɛ ă is still often prescribed by the orthoepists : in *any* by Buchanan and Sheridan (Ellis), in *many* by Kenrick, in both words by Ludwig 1717 (Löwisch p. 33). Besides Lediard gives ɹɛ ā in *many* (Ellis p. 1041) and *any* (Löwisch l. c.); Kenrick ɹɛ ā (~ ɹɛ ĕ) in *any*. W. gives ɹɛ ĕ in both words.

SPENSER has the irrelevant rimes *any* : *many* 500 a, 514 a, 524 a, 550 a, and the rime *anie* : *penie* 517 b, which latter rime is no doubt based upon the ME form *eny*. — POPE's only rime *Stanyan* n. pr. : *any one* (§ 114) is probably = ɹɛ ă : ɹɛ ă. — BYRON's rime to ɹɛ ă & ɹɛ ĕ (§ 114) is of no interest in the present case. The five rimes to ɹɛ ā & ɹɛ ai (§ 107) and the solitary rime to ɹɛ ă (§ 114) are uncertain. They may very well be explained as merely traditional; but on the other hand it is not altogether impossible that Byron knew the (oldfashioned?, artificial?) pronunciations with ɹɛ ā & ɹɛ ă. — I have not looked for rimes to present E. e in all Byron's works; in CH there are none.— SWINBURNE's rimes to *any*, *many* are in accordance with the present E. pronunciation.

said, says, saith. SPENSER. *said* : ɹɛ ai, very numerous (§ 106). *said* : ɹɛ ā (+ ɹɛ ai), 7 cases (§ 106). *said* : ɹɛ ĕ, only in *red* (= read pp.) : *slavered* : *sed* pret. 357 b. — *says* I have noticed only in the rime *sayes* : *dayes* 515 a; *saith* does not occur.

POPE. *said* : ɹɛ ai & ɹɛ ā, 6 cases (§ 106). *said* : *dead, head, lead, bed, red, Ned* 85, 130, 152, 235, 271, 344, 416, 445, 491. *says* is rimed only : *days, praise*, 3 cases (§ 106); *saith* does not occur.

BYRON.[1] *said* : present E. ei (§ 107; 19 cases); + : present

[1] From inadvertency I have not paid attention to possibly existing rimes *says* : present E. ei in Swinburne. — Of rimes *said, says, saith* : present E. e only those in Byron's CH and Swinburne's SBS have been collected here.

E. e (§ 107; 2 cases). *said* : *unwed* (CH) 210 b. — *says* : present E. ei (§ 107; 4 cases).

SWINBURNE.[1] *said, saith* : present E. ei (§ 107; 5 cases); + : present E. e (§ 107; 3 cases). — *said* : *dead, head, led, shed* SBS 44, 47, 48, 71, 127, 147, 215, 255, 260. *saith* : *breath, death* SBS 42, 44, 51, 67, 86, 137, 162, 196, 233, 246. — [Finally there are the rimes *saith* : present E. e & ij CR 46, 88; cf. 104.]

The weak forms with μɛ ĕ are evidenced by orthoepists very early : in *said* by Smith 1568 (Horn Gr. § 117), in *says* by Daines 1640 (Horn l. c.), in *saith* by Hart (~ long vowel) 1569 & 1570 (Jespersen p. 80). A long vowel (< μɛ ai) seems to be known by Jones (~ μɛ ĕ) in *said, says*; and W. still prescribes long vowel in *said*, when it »is an adjective, as the *said* man». — Consequently Spenser's and Pope's rimes to *said, says*, need no comment. Byron's rimes *said* : present E. ei may have been based upon a pronunciation with μɛ ai of *said* (cf. W.); but on the other hand they may very well have been merely traditional, which is no doubt the case with Byron's rimes *says* : present E. ei and Swinburne's rimes *said, saith* : present E. ei.

251 II. Words with present E. i or e ~ other vowel : *wind* s., *been, again.*

wind s. (cf. Horn Gr. § 71).

SPENSER rimes *wind* s. only : μɛ ī (the cases are very numerous); as well as POPE (I have recorded 20 cases), and BYRON (46 cases recorded), except in *wind* : *Inde* n. pr. : *blind* (Byron) 156 a. SWINBURNE on the contrary generally rimes *wind* : μɛ ĭ; I have recorded 27 rimes of this kind [: *Rosalind* (1 case), *Ind* (2 cases), *sinned, thinned, bedinned, (-)finned*] against only two rimes : μɛ ī [*blind, bind, behind, kind* PB I : 158; SBS 16].

been pp. (& pres. pl., Spenser).

SPENSER. Generally rimed : μɛ ē (very numerous; about 70 cases recorded); : μɛ ĭ only 15 a, 19 b, 48 b, 93 a, 149 b, 340 b, 474 b (in these cases, except the last, spelt *bin*). Besides one rime : μɛ ī, see § 86.

POPE. *been* : *between, seen, queen* 85, 142, 253, 395; *been* : *sin* 151.

BYRON. Generally rimed : μɛ ē (very numerous; 66 cases recorded); : μɛ ĭ only 371 a, 704 a, 795 b, 799 a.

SWINBURNE. Of rimes *been* : μɛ ē I have found 14 cases (besides the rime to *Faustine* PB I : 25, which word is rimed

[1] Cf. p. 139, foot-note.

in the same poem 26 times to ɹɛ ē and 14 times to ɹɛ ĭ); rimes *been* : ɹɛ ĭ I have found only PB I : 28, L 105, A 161, 181.

again (cf. Horn Gr. § 117).

SPENSER (cf. B. § 144). *again* : ɹɛ ai, very numerous; *again* : ɹɛ ā, no cases; *again* : ɹɛ ĕ, only in *agein* : *pen* : *men* 54 a.

POPE. *again* : ɹɛ ai, numerous (more than 30 cases); besides *again* : *profane* : *main* 160. — *again* : ɹɛ ĕ (*men, pen, then*) 244, 336, 336, 343, 454, 470.

BYRON. *again* : present E. ei (ɹɛ ai & ɹɛ ā), very numerous (about 120 cases recorded); *again* : present E. e, very numerous (51 cases racorded); *again* : present E. ei : present E. e 252 b, 336 b, 733 b (§ 107).

SWINBURNE. *again* : present E. ei (ɹɛ ai & ɹɛ ā), very numerous (60 cases recorded); *again* : present E. e, very numerous (58 cases recorded, incl. the rimes to *Gondolen, Magdalen* PB I : 25, L 22); *again* : present E. ei : present E. e, PB I : 16, 266, PB II : 204, SBS 247 (§ 107).

Present E. ei, eə. 252

The change [ē̞] > [ē̞]|*r* in *care, air, bear*, etc., recorded by orthoepists from the middle of the 18th c. (Horn Gr. § 92), and resulting in the present E. distinction *name* etc.) *care* etc., does not appear in the rimes, and has consequently been disregarded here.

a. ɹɛ ā(r) & ɹɛ ai(r).

SPENSER. Rimes. Irrelevant or uncertain cases, see §§ 35, 36, 37, 57, 60, 90, 109, 110, 112, 117, 118, 124, 125, 170, 182.

ɹɛ ai : ɹɛ ī [*slain* : ɹɛ ī 348 a, *-aight* : *-ight* 8 cases, § 90; equivalent is *seize* : ɹɛ ī 50 b, and probably *felicitie* : *away* 560 a; cf. § 86]. ɹɛ ai : ɹɛ ē̞ [very few; § 109]. ɹɛ air : *sphere, dear* [2 cases, § 110; equivalent (?) *fyres* : *spheres* : *yeres* : *theirs* 296 a; cf. § 176]. ɹɛ ai : ɹɛ ă [only *obtain'd* : *hand* 423 a].

ɹɛ ai(r) : ɹɛ ā(r) [numerous, § 57; equivalent cases §§ 112, 117].

ɹɛ ā(r) : ɹɛ ē̞ & ɹɛ ēr [numerous, §§ 109, 110; equivalent are the rimes ɹɛ ā(r) : *great; bear* etc. (+ : ɹɛ ē̞ & ɹɛ ēr) (10 cases; §§ 60, 109, 110); here belong also *endeavour* : ɹɛ ā (2 cases), § 106; *stature* (: *nature*) : ɹɛ ē̞ (3 cases) §§ 115, 180; *have* : (ɹɛ ā :) ɹɛ ē̞ (5 cases), §§ 115, 180; ɹɛ ār : *appeared* : *heard* pp. 329 a]. ɹɛ ā : ɹɛ ă [generally somewhat uncertain; § 112]. ɹɛ ā : *was* [4

cases]; + : *pass* [2 cases]. μɛ ā(r) : μɛ ăth, ă:(c), (w)ăɪ(c) [numerous, §§ 117, 118, 124, 183, 184; equivalent are the rimes μɛ ā(r) : *hath, hast* (§§ 112, 182), further *heard* μɛ ăr : μɛ ār 314 b (§ 214 b) and (probably) *hard* (= heard) : *reward* : *dar'd* 534 b (§ 214 a)]. μɛ ā : μɛ ăl [*tale* : *call* : *overall* 338 a].

Spenser's rimes to μɛ ā(r) are well in accordance with the duality in the pronunciation of μɛ ā (= [ā] & [ǣ]) which Luick (Anglia 14, 268 ff., cf. U. § 312 ff.) concludes from the orthoepists to have existed in the 16th c. To [ā] point the rimes to μɛ ă, probably also those to μɛ ăth, ă:(c), (w)ăr(c), and further the solitary rime 338 a; the numerous rimes to μɛ ę̄ & μɛ ēr point to a more »front« sound.

253 As to μɛ ai(r) (= ME ai & ME ei; cf. Luick, Anglia 14, 273 ff.; B. § 154), the rimes to μɛ ę̄ & μɛ ēr and the numerous rimes to μɛ ā(r) leave no doubt that Spenser knew a monophthongic pronunciation of μɛ ai(r). These rimes can hardly be due to tradition : besides the fact that traditional influence is much less conspicuous in Spenser's rimes than in those of later poets (cf. § 13), rimes μɛ ai(r) : μɛ ā(r) & μɛ ē(r) are naturally scarce in ME (cf. Dib. § 46 ff.) — except for the rimes μɛ ai(r) : μɛ ā(r) in Scotch, where μɛ ai(r) & μɛ ā(r) joined in late ME under an [ē]-vowel (cf. Luick U. 369 ff.). — To judge from the rimes, this monophthongic μɛ ai should have been = [ǣ], a sound implied also by the statements of several orthoepists of that time, cf. Luick, Anglia l. c.; U. § 291; thus the numerous rimes to μɛ ā(r) would be correct, and those to μɛ ę̄ & μɛ ēr would be on a level with the numerous rimes μɛ ā(r) : μɛ ę̄ & μɛ ēr. — Viëtor's theory (El. § 53 Anm. 8, cf. Sh. § 42) that μɛ ai was = [ę̄] ⟩ μɛ ā = [ǣ], is not supported by Spenser's rimes (cf. B. § 154); such a pronunciation would necessarily have caused another proportion between the rimes of μɛ ai(r) and μɛ ā(r) to μɛ ē(r). — Nor does a pronunciation of μɛ ai = [ā] seem to have been known to Spenser, as there is only one rime μɛ ai : μɛ ă (which may very well have been = [ǣ] : [ă], cf. § 264). In fact, such a pronunciation of μɛ ai is not likely to have ever existed; it is true that Smith & Gill give it as a Northern and Scotch peculiarity, but according to Luick U. §§ 260, 289, these statements are not to be taken literally.[1]

[1] In Anglia 14,279, Luick seems to admit the possibility af a 16th c. pronunciation [ā] of μɛ ai [»Bindungen von *ai* : *a* erklären sich also als ǣ(i) : ǣ, (vielleicht auch ā(i) : ā) . .«], and so does B. § 154 [»Die Reime von ai : â könnten (âi) : (â) oder (â) : (â) oder . . . sein«]. But in U. §§ 291, 337, Luick expressly denies the existence of such a pronunciation.

Besides this monophthongic pronunciation of ɱɛ ai (= [ǣ]), Spenser must, however, have known also the old diphthongic pronunciation, which is given by many 16th c. orthoepists as the only or as the best pronunciation. Spenser's rimes, naturally enough, afford little direct evidence of this pronunciation — only the rimes to ɱɛ ī can be adduced — but there is indirect evidence, afforded by a comparison between the rimes ɱɛ ai(r) : ɱɛ ę̄ & ɱɛ ēr and the rimes ɱɛ ā(r) : ɱɛ ę̄ & ɱɛ ēr. The decided superiority in number of these latter rimes — cf. Pope, where the proportion is quite different — can be accounted for only by supposing that the [ǣ]-pronunciation of ɱɛ ā(r) was more familiar to Spenser than the same pronunciation of ɱɛ ai(r). This is not quite the same thing as concluding — as B. does § 154 — that the diphthongic pronunciation of ɱɛ ai was Spenser's usual pronunciation. In support of his conclusion B. further adduces the all but total absence of rimes ɱɛ ai : ME ă) numerous rimes ɱɛ ā : ME ă, and the great proportion of rimes ME ai : ME ā|r (because |r the second element of the diphthong was particularly apt to be lost, and the rimes consequently less incorrect |r than in other positions). These arguments are, however, of little weight. In the rimes ɱɛ ai : ME ă there would be a difference of quality, besides that of quantity, also with the monophthongic pronunciation of ɱɛ ai (= [ǣ]), while in the rimes ɱɛ ā : ME ă there need not be any difference of quality. As to the rimes ME ai : ME ā|r, they occur in Pope (see §§ 59, 60) in nearly the same proportion as in Spenser (in Spenser about one third, in Pope a little more than one quarter of all rimes ɱɛ ai(r) : ɱɛ ā(r), not counting the rimes containing other vowels as well, especially ME ę̄), so that the frequency of this kind of rime can hardly have been due to any special development of ME ai|r.

254

Pope. Rimes. Irrelevant or uncertain cases, see §§ 109, 113, 117, 124.

255

ɱɛ ai(r) : *great* (1 case); : *bear* etc. (numerous). ɱɛ ai(r) : ɱɛ ę̄ & ɱɛ ēr (: ɱɛ ę̄ 11 cases; : ɱɛ ēr 13 cases). ɱɛ air : *bear* etc. : ɱɛ ēr (3 cases). ɱɛ ai : ɱɛ ĕ (*prevail* : *hell* 42). ɱɛ ai : ɱɛ ă (5 cases; cf. *tail* : *animal* 183). ɱɛ air : ɱɛ (w)ăr (: *star*, *Issachar* n. pr. 3 cases; : *war* 2 cases).

ɱɛ ai(r) : ɱɛ ā(r) (numerous; equivalent is *are* : *chair* 328, cf. § 117).

ɱɛ ā(r) : *break* (1 case); : *great* (numerous); : *bear* etc. (numerous). ɱɛ ā(r) : ɱɛ ę̄ & ɱɛ ēr (: ɱɛ ę̄ 13 cases; : ɱɛ ēr 3 cases). ɱɛ ā(r) : *break*, *bear* v. : ɱɛ ē(r) (2 cases). ɱɛ ā(r) : ɱɛ ĕ (: *bread*,

dead, head, 3 cases; cf. *came* : *Jerusalem* 149, *share* : *commissioner* 397). ɹɛ ā(r) : ɹɛ ă (9 cases; cf. *fame* : *Buckingham* 462). ɹɛ ā(r) : present E. aa & ɔɔ [: *laugh* (1 case); : ɹɛ ă$_3$(c) (numerous); : *hard* (1 case); : *war* (5 cases; and *bear* v. : *prepare* : *war* 156); : *reward* (1 case)].

In Pope's pronunciation, ɹɛ ai (r) was certainly a monophthong, and = ɹɛ ā(r); conclusive in this respect are especially the rimes to ɹɛ (w)ă(r), to ɹɛ ĕ, and to ɹɛ ę̄ & ɹɛ ēr. The superiority in number of the rimes ɹɛ ai(r) : ɹɛ ę̄ & ɹɛ ēr to the rimes ɹɛ ā(r) : ɹɛ ę̄ & ɹɛ ēr is probably purely accidental; at any rate it cannot prove a more close pronunciation of ɹɛ ai(r), as there is nothing else in the rimes that speaks in support of such a difference between ɹɛ ai(r) and ɹɛ ā(r). — The quality of ɹɛ ai(r) and ɹɛ ā(r) was an [ē]-sound in Pope's pronunciation as is shown by the numerous rimes to (*break,*) *great, bear,* etc. and especially by the rimes to ɹɛ ĕ; that these latter are very few is no wonder, as they are little used by older poets (cf. § 247) and, besides, rimes v̄l : v̆l are not used frequently by Pope. Whether this [ē]-sound was close or open (i. e. »mid front» or »low front») the rimes do not decide; on the one hand there are the rimes to ɹɛ ę̄ & ɹɛ ēr, on the other, the rimes to ɹɛ ă & ɹɛ (w)ă$_1$(c). But both these kinds may be purely traditional rimes in Pope; cf. Spenser, and further Dryden, who uses also rimes ɹɛ ai(r) : ɹɛ ă & ɹɛ (w)ă$_1$(c) (Dierb. §§ 34, 41) though not frequently. Most probably, however, the rimes of this last kind are in Pope (and in Dryden as well) mainly quasi-traditional, i. e. based on the authority of the corresponding rimes of ɹɛ ā(r), to which they were completely equivalent at least in Pope's pronunciation.

256 Byron. Rimes. Irrelevant or uncertain cases, see §§ 109, 113, 119, 188.

veil : *conceal* : *seal* 808 a. *death* : *faith* : *beneath* 674 b.

ɹɛ ai : ɹɛ ĕ (numerous). ɹɛ air : *err, her, early* (2 cases). *there* : *err* : *fair* 768 b. *whate'er* : *Fair* : *are* 614 b. *pant* : *faint* 602a.

ɹɛ ai(r) : ɹɛ ā(r); ɹɛ ai(r) & ɹɛ ā(r) : *break, great; bear* etc. (very numerous; not taken down).

ɹɛ ā : ɹɛ ē (7 cases; + *speak* : *break* : *take* 365 a). ɹɛ ār : ɹɛ ēr (2 cases). *graven* : *heaven* : *driven* 365 a. ɹɛ ā : ɹɛ ĕ (numerous). ɹɛ ār : ɹɛ ĕ (2 cases; cf. § 107). ɹɛ ār : *heard* (3 cases). ɹɛ ā : ɹɛ ă (numerous; + *ate* pret. : *cat* : *great* 376 b, cf. § 113). ɹɛ ār : ɹɛ ă (3 cases). *safe* : *half* : *chafe* 692 b. ɹɛ ā : ɹɛ ă (c) (12 cases). ɹɛ ār : ɹɛ ă$_1$(c) (: *are* 93 a; : ɹɛ ăr^c 7 cases). ɹɛ ār : ɹɛ

wărᶜ (2 cases). *paused* : *caused* : *chased* 729 a. *was* : *blaze* 335 a. *squabble* : *rabble* : *able* 697 a. *same ages* : *damages* : *homages* 791 a. — [*wail* : *Baal* 82 b etc., not considered, cf. § 105.]

In the standard pronunciation of Byron's time ɹɛ ai(r) and ɹɛ ā(r) were certainly identical; and that they were so also in Byron's pronunciation appears, not only from the great number of rimes ɹɛ ai(r) : ɹɛ ā(r) etc. (which have not been taken down), but also, above all, from the rimes ɹɛ ā(r) & ɹɛ ai : ɹɛ ĕ. Thus, the difference that is actually made between ɹɛ ai(r) and ɹɛ ā(r) in the rimes to some vowels (cf. the review, above), must be due to other than phonetic causes. In the case of rimes to ɹɛ ăᶜ, there are hardly any ɹɛ ai-words that could be used as rime-words (Walker's Rhyming Dict. gives only *waist*); and the absence of rimes ɹɛ ai(r) : ɹɛ ă, and : ɹɛ ărᶜ may very well be a case of spelling influence (cf. § 20, end).

SWINBURNE. Rimes. Irrelevant or uncertain cases, see § 113. 257

ɹɛ ai(r) : ɹɛ ā(r), ɹɛ ai(r) & ɹɛ ā(r) : *break, great; bear* etc. (very numerous; not taken down).

ɹɛ ai & ɹɛ ā : ɹɛ ĕ (numerous). ɹɛ ai & ɹɛ ā : ɹɛ ă (4 cases). ɹɛ ā : ɹɛ ăsᶜ (2 cases). ɹɛ ā : ɹɛ ę̄ (1 case).

Swinburne, of course, has the present E. pronunciation of ɹɛ ai(r) and ɹɛ ā(r). Except for the rimes ɹɛ ai & ɹɛ ā : ɹɛ ĕ, which are no doubt regarded by the poet as rimes v̄l : v̆l, the incorrect rimes are limited to a few strictly traditional cases.

b. break, steak, great [to *yea* I have not noticed any rimes]; bear etc.; cf. Luick U. § 322 ff. 258

The history of *bear* etc. has been dealt with above § 230 f. As to *break, great* (Luick, l. c.), they are given with ɹɛ ę̄ by all 16th & 17th c. orthoepists; [ī] is given by Buchanan and Sheridan in *break;* in *great* by EO. After the change ɹɛ ę̄ > [ī], [ē] is given by Lediard — who is the first orthoepist who distinguishes the words from ɹɛ ę̄ — in both words; further in *great* by Buchanan and Sheridan, etc. Walker gives [ē] (= ɹɛ ā) in *break, great,* but he also mentions an affected pronunciation with [ī]. — *steak* has ɹɛ ę̄ in Smith; then it is not mentioned until Lediard who gives [ē] as in *break, great.*

SPENSER. Rimes Irrelevant or uncertain cases, see §§ 106, 109, 164, 170. 259

break, great : ɹɛ ę̄ (§ 109 numerous; equivalent are the rimes containing *sweat, threat* §§ 106, 179); + : ɹɛ ę̆ 314 b. *great* : *repeat* :

create : *animate* 138 b. — *bear* etc. : με ēr (numerous). *bear* etc. με ār (4 cases); + : με ēr (5 cases; §§ 60, 110).

In these rimes there are, very naturally, no signs whatever of the words *break, great; bear* etc. being in any way distinguished from words in general with ME ę̄.

260 POPE. Rimes.

break : *speak* (2 cases). *speaks* : *makes* : *breaks* 85. *great* : με ę̄ (12 cases). *break* : *make* 123; *great* : με ā (numerous); *great* : *eight* 479. *break* : *neck* 85; *threat* : *great* 118. *break* : *crack* 273.— *bear* etc. : με ēr (numerous); *bear* etc.: με : ēr : με ār & με air (4 cases). *bear* etc. : με ār & με air (numerous). *bear* v., *wear* : *star* 37, 166. *war* : *tear* 161. *bear* v. : *prepare* : *war* 156 [cf. *swear* : *thunderer* 162.]

261 Pope's rimes show an unmistakable separation of the words of this group from the words with με ę̄ and με ēr. Conclusive in this respect are above all *break* : *crack* (✗ no rimes με ę̄ : με ă), the numerous rimes *great* : με ā and *bear* etc. : με ār & με air (this last group is far more numerous than all rimes με ēr : με ār & με air put together). To judge from these rimes Pope's pronunciation of the words of this group was = με ā(r); if the theory proposed § 231 for the origin of the με ā-pronunciation in *bear* etc. is correct, it is only natural that Pope, as being a Londoner born and bred, should have this pronunciation in the case of these words. — Yet, Pope may also have known (without using it himself) the pronunciation with με ę̄ (i. e. = [ī] or close [ē]) in all the present E. ei- & eə -words here considered. In the case of the words *break, great,* there is, in fact, little doubt that he did; cf. the orthoepists, § 258. In the case of *bear* etc., matters are more doubtful; but it seems probable that the pronunciation με ę̄ was to be heard in London (though mainly, perhaps, from provincial speakers) at least in Pope's early days (cf. § 231). — Pope's rimes to με ę̄ and με ēr are of no use in the present case; cf. §§ 225, 238 (end), 239.

262 BYRON. Rimes. Irrelevant or uncertain cases, see § 170.

break, great; bear etc. : με ā(r) & με ai(r) (very numerous; not taken down). *break* : με ē (8 cases). *speak* : *break* : *take* 365 a. *break, steak, great* : με ĕ (3 cases). *ate* pret. : *cat* : *great* 367 b (probably = με ā : με ă, cf. 113). — *bear, wear, were, there, e'er* : με ēr (15 cases). *Green Erin* : *wearing* 778 a (cf. 107, footnote 1). *bear, ne'er* (+ *were*) : *her* (3 cases). *there* : *err* : *fair* 768 b.

parable : *arable* : *bearable* 825 b. *whate'er* : *Fair* : *are* 614 b. [For the rimes *bear* etc. : (*merit* :) *spirit* (7 cases), cf. §§ 97, 108, 178.]

Byron's usual pronunciation of the words of this group was no doubt μɛ ā(r). The rimes pointing to a pronunciation μɛ ē(r), i. e. the rimes to μɛ ę̄ & μɛ ēr, may all be due wholly to tradition and spelling; and this is probably the case with the rimes to μɛ ēr (cf. 240). The rimes *break* : μɛ ę̄ X no rimes *great* : μɛ ę̄ are remarkable, as *great* is by far the more commonly used in rimes (cf. Spenser and Pope §§ 259, 260), and may imply Byron's knowledge of a μɛ ę̄-pronunciation of *break*, and not of *great* (= Buchanan and Sheridan, cf. § 258).

SWINBURNE. Rimes. Irrelevant or uncertain cases, see §§ 111, 170. 263

break, great; bear etc. : μɛ ā(r) & μɛ ai(r) (very numerous; not taken down). *there, were* : μɛ ēr (2 cases). *there* : *her* PB I: 289.

Swinburne's pronunciation is of course= present E. The rimes disagreeing with this pronunciation are strictly traditional.

Present E. æ. 264

a. Quality of μɛ ă.

SPENSER. Rimes. Irrelevant or uncertain cases, see §§ 38, 43, 112, 114, 116, 123, 180, 211.

μɛ ă : μɛ ā (generally uncertain cases, see § 112). μɛ ă : μɛ ai (*obtain'd* : *hand* 423 a). *band* s., *hand*, (*under*)*stand* : *demand* (3 cases). μɛ ă : μɛ wă (numerous; equivalent are μɛ ă : *water* (2 cases), cf. §§ 123, 279). μɛ ă : μɛ ŏ (§ 133, 6 cases; for equivalent cases cf. § 314).

In these rimes there is really no sign of a palatalisation of μɛ ă to an [æ]-vowel: the rimes to μɛ ā, as far as they are certain (cf. § 112), may be based on the »back» pronunciation of μɛ ā (§ 252), and the solitary rime to μɛ ai is little conclusive regarding the quality of μɛ ă, cf. § 253. On the other hand the rimes μɛ ă : μɛ ŏ decidedly point to a »back» pronunciation of μɛ ă (cf. § 314). — The rimes to μɛ wă and to *demand* are irrelevant, cf. § 308 f. & § 280 respectively.

POPE. Rimes. Irrelevant or uncertain cases, see §§ 113, 114, 123. 265

μɛ ă : μɛ ā(r) & μɛ ai (14 cases). *crack* : *break* 273. *shadows* : *Meadows* n. pr. 478. *band* s. etc. : *command, demand* (numerous). μɛ ă : μɛ wă (8 cases).

In Pope's time ɹɛ ă was certainly palatalized to a »front» vowel. It is true that only the two cases 273 and 478 can be adduced in proof of this palatalisation (for the rimes to ɹɛ ā(r) & ɹɛ ai see § 255); but on the other hand there are no rimes that point to a »back» pronunciation of ɹɛ ă, as the rimes to *command, demand* and to ɹɛ wă are irrelevant, as in Spenser, cf. §§ 280, 309.

266 Byron. Rimes. Irrelevant or uncertain cases, treated above, see §§ 113, 114, 116.

[§ 113 :] ɹɛ ă : ɹɛ ā(r) (numerous); ɹɛ ă : *great, bear* (2 cases). [§ 114 :] ɹɛ ă : ɹɛ ĕ (*had* : ɹɛ ĕ, 2 cases; *shadow* : *meadow*, 2 cases; *gather* : *together* 604 a — equivalent is probably *rather* : ɹɛ ĕ 376 b; cf. § 120 —; *chambre* F. : *amber* : *remember* 827 b; further 6 cases). [§ 181 :] *devil* : *evil* : *cavil* 711 a. [§ 116 :] ɹɛ ă : OF ã, ɹɛ ăs(c), ɹɛ ăth, *father* (numerous). [§ 123 :] *Cossacque* : *attack* : *walk* 735 a; ɹɛ ă : ɹɛ au (2 cases); ɹɛ ă : ɹɛ-*aught* (+ *water*) (6 cases); ɹɛ ă : *water* (8 cases); ɹɛ ă : ɹɛ wăr (5 cases); ɹɛ ă : *stanch, vaunt* (3 cases); *shall, canal* : ɹɛ ăl (7 cases; cf. § 123). [§ 133 :] ɹɛ ă : ɹɛ ŏ (+ ɹɛ wă) (3 cases); *laurels* : *quarrels* : *barrels* 640 a; ɹɛ ă : ɹɛ wă (numerous). [§ 187 :] *want* : *cant* s. : *vaunt* 627 a; *as* : *was* : *cause* 784 b. [§ 189 :] *commander* : *squander* : *salamander* 735 b; *Alexander* : *wander* : *meander* 727 a; *was* : *class, pass* : *as, has* (3 cases). [§ 191 :] *squabble* : *rabble* : *able* 697 a; *same ages* : *damages* : *homages* 791 a. [§ 158 :] ɹɛ ă : *one, once, sun, dunce, thorough* (4 cases). [§ 210 :] *upon* : *one* : *man* 696 a; *awkward* : *backward* : *stuck hard* (2 cases).

Some of these rimes certainly seem to indicate that Byron used a more »back» pronunciation of ɹɛ ă than the present E. æ; or, if his own pronunciation was = present E. æ, that his native Sc. (E.) [ă] (cf. § 25) occasionally — possibly unconsciously — influenced his rimes. Quite irrelevant are the numerous rimes present E. æ : aa which may have been correct rimes ɹɛ ă : ɹɛ ă, cf. §§ 280, 284. Other rimes can be explained as being, exclusively or mainly, due to tradition; such are *shall, canal* : ɹɛ ăl (cf. § 123), *gather* : *father* (cf. § 281), ɹɛ ă : ɹɛ wă & : ɹɛ wăr. But this explanation is hardly applicable to the rimes containing ɹɛ au (incl. *laurel*) or ɹɛ ŏ (the rimes to ɹɛ ŭ are uncertain, cf. § 342), which all point to a »back» pronunciation of ɹɛ ă [yet the rime *homages* : ɹɛ ă : ɹɛ ā somewhat lessens the value of the rimes ɹɛ ă : ɹɛ ŏ as a proof]. — On the other hand, the rimes of ɹɛ ă to ɹɛ ā, to *break* & *bear* etc., and to ɹɛ ĕ, are certainly best interpreted as being based upon a »front» pronunciation of ɹɛ ă, but

none of these groups of rimes can be accepted as conclusive proof of such a pronunciation. The rimes to μɛ ā are traditional (i. e. traditionally looked upon as rimes v̆l : v̄l) and prove as little as e. g. the rimes to μɛ wă; and the rimes to *break, bear*, etc. are easily explained as being quasi-traditional, being equivalent, phonetically, in Byron's time to the rimes μɛ ă : μɛ ā. The rimes to μɛ ĕ are not numerous; besides, some of them might be due to special pronunciations of the words concerned, taken from Byron's native dialect : *had* is given as *hed* in a citation from Aberdeen (in EDD), *shadow, gather* have [ĕ] in »ne. Sc.» (EDGr.), *rather* close [ĕ] in the Aberdeen dialect (EDGr.) (the rimes *shadow* : *meadow* may besides be a direct loan from Pope (§ 114). The few remaining cases might very well have been = [ă] : [ĕ] (cf. the rimes *warriors* : *fox-terriers* (§ 135), *squabble* : μɛ ă : μɛ ā, which are, at the best, = [ă] : [ĕ] and [ă] : [ē] respectively); they all bear the stamp of emergency rimes.

SWINBURNE. Rimes. Irrelevant or uncertain cases, see § 113. 267

μɛ ă : μɛ ā & μɛ ai (4 cases). μɛ ă : μɛ ĕ (10 cases; mostly feminine rimes). *man's* : *dance* etc. (2 cases). *hath* 3 sg. : μɛ ăth (incl. *wrath*, cf. § 119) (4 cases). μɛ ă : *wan* a. (7 cases). *hungry* : *angry* AC 93.

All these rimes may be put down to the three factors (singly or combined) : tradition, influence of spelling, and — especially in the case of *have, hath*, and the feminine rimes — lack of correct rime-words. — The comparatively large number of rimes μɛ ă : μɛ ĕ is not to be wondered at, as the rimes of this type are decidedly less incorrect phonetically than the others.

b. Special cases : *am, had, has, hath, hast.* [For *have* and 268 *shall*, see §§ 112 & 123 respectively.]

Of enclitic words with short vowel + single (final) consonant sound there existed in ME, beside the usual weak forms v̆l + c̆s (in enclitic use), strong forms v̆l + c̄s (in emphatic use and as rimes). Out of these weak forms there developed, according to Luick U. § 419 ff., a new kind of strong forms v̄l + c̆s, indicated in many enclitic words by spellings and rimes especially in Northern texts (Luick U. § 419; cf. the late ME Northern forms *haid, hais, haith* (*haist*) in NED); the length of the vowel being due to special accent laws (weak stress combined with »Gravis», strong stress with »Acut»). — This rule is applicable to all the words here concerned except *hast*, in which, however, a long vowel would be easily explained as due to influence of the other forms of the

tense. *had* may besides have a regular ME ā (cf. Luick U. § 448), as is certainly the case with *have* (§ 112) and *are* (§ 117). — Strong forms of the type v̄l + c̆s are not mentioned of *am, had, has, hath* (*hast*) by the early Mod.E. orthoepists. Such a form of *am* may however be the explanation of SPENSER's rimes *am* : ɹɛ ā (§ 112; B. § 88 does not quote any rimes *am* : ɹɛ ă from FQ; in Spenser's other works I have noticed only *dam* : *Lamb* : *am* 455 b) which seem to be meant for rimes ɹɛ ā : ɹɛ ā [Luick does not give any ME ām, but the spelling *ame* is quoted from Cursor Mundi by NED]. The rime *had* : ɹɛ ā 286 a is far more uncertain and cannot make it probable that Spenser knew a ɹɛ ā-form of *had*. — B. §§ 81, 88 regards the rimes *had, am* : ɹɛ ā as rimes ɹɛ ă : ɹɛ ā; but with regard to Spenser's pronunciation of *has* and *was* he lays down the rule (B. § 207) — independently of the accent conditions adduced by Luick — that a weak form v̆l + c̆s when used under stress may result in two strong forms : v̆l + c̄s and v̄l + c̆s. Spenser's rimes to *has*, however (for the rimes to *was*, cf. § 310), seem conclusive only for a form v̆l + c̄s, completely equivalent to ɹɛ ăs generally [*has* : ɹɛ ăs, 3 cases; *has* : *was*, 3 cases; *has* : ɹɛ ăs : *was*, numerous]. — *hath, hast* are treated in Spenser's rimes as ɹɛ ăth and ɹɛ ăsᶜ generally [*hath* : *scath*, 2 cases (cf. § 112); *hath* : ɹɛ ăth (+ *scath*, § 182), 8 cases; *bath* : *wrath* : *hat'th* : *hath* 87 a; *hath* : *death* 599 b. *hast* : *taste* v. : *defast* pp. 122 b; *haste* : *past* : *fast* : *hast* 58 b; *hast* : ɹɛ ăsᶜ, 3 cases]; of course they here have strong forms v̆l + c̄s, equivalent to ɹɛ ăth, ɹɛ ăsᶜ also with regard to the lengthening power of the consonant(s). The rime *hath* : *death* is probably an instance of this lengthening influence; cf. § 282 (*death* is often rimed : ɹɛ ę̄ by Spenser, see §§ 100, 243).

POPE does not use *am, has, hath, hast* as rimes; *had* is rimed only : ɹɛ ă.

In BYRON's pronunciation as in SWINBURNE's the strong forms of the words here concerned no doubt have ɹɛ ă, and the rimes of these poets to these words are to be explained as rimes of the same kind to ɹɛ ă in general.

269 **Present E. aa and ɔɔ.**

a. Quality of ɹɛ au (incl. ɹɛ ă·l(c), i. e. ME ăl(c) > ɹɛ au(l) > present E. ɔɔ; cf. »Phonetic Notation«).

Judging from orthoepistical evidence, monophthongic pronunciation of ɹɛ au is very common in the 16th c., though the old

diphthongic pronunciation is not universally dropped until the second half of the 17th c. The monophthong is generally compared (or identified) by the 16th-18th c. orthoepists with foreign (German, French, etc.) *a* long; a statement which has been interpreted in different ways by different investigators of early E. pronunciation. According to Ellis (p. 141 ff.) Sweet, and Luick, the monophthong is a very open [ō]-vowel (Sweet's »Low back round«), probably »wide« (Sweet HES § 859; = Luick, Anglia 16, 470), represented in present E. by the corresponding »narrow« sound [ɔɔ]; in Viëtor's opinion (El. § 45, Anm. 6), accepted e. g. by Brotanek p. XV, μɛ au is in the beginning of the 17th c. represented by [ā], which remains far into the 18th c. when the present E. ɔɔ is adopted. In Sh. § 44, Viëtor maintains his opinion, admitting however that the vowel in question »was rather of a velar than of a palatal or even a clear type, and that it might be more exactly denoted by [ɑ :]». Thus, the difference of the two opinions only concerns the existence or non-existence of a slight rounding. Now, a very slight rounding would not have been enough to facilitate, to any degree, the riming of the monophthong μɛ au with μɛ ǭ, so this argument of Viëtor's in Sh. l. c. (i. e. the absence of rimes of this kind in the Elizabethan period) does not carry much weight; besides it should be kept in mind that the diphthongic pronunciation of μɛ au was no doubt the more common one throughout the 16th c. — Further, it may be inferred from the statements of Walker, who completely distinguishes μɛ au (= a^3) from μɛ ăr(c) etc. (= a^2), that the identification of E. and foreign vowel sounds made by many early E. orthoepists, is not to be implicitely trusted. In the »Table of . . . vowels« on p. XVI of his Dictionary, he identifies »a^3« with the »broad German *a*« and the French »*â* in *âge, Châlons*«; »o^3« with the French »*o* in *or, for, encor*«. On the other hand, in Princ. 167 he identifies »o^3« with the sound written *au*, which is (Princ. 213) = the sound of the s. *awe*, »or of the *a* in *hall, ball*, etc.« (i. e. a^3). Yet he observes, Princ. 83, that the English give »a broader sound to this letter in these words« (i. e. *fall, ball*, etc.) »than the Germans themselves would do, were they to pronounce them«. — Finally, the theory of an unrounded pronunciation of μɛ au in the standard early Mod. E. seems to imply a corresponding unrounded pronunciation of μɛ ŏ as well — cf. Viëtor El. § 45, Anm. 8, and further the fact that ME ŏ | lengthening consonant(s) is in present St. E. identical with μɛ au, an identification made

already by Cooper (cf. §§ 287, 298) — and such a pronunciation of μɛ ŏ in the standard language seems improbable, at least from the middle of the 17th c. down (cf. § 312).

270 Horn U. p. 21 ff. assumes, mainly on the evidence of the present E. dialects and of early Mod. E. spellings, that there was in the early Mod. E. »Schriftsprache» a double pronunciation of μɛ au, = [ā], and (open) [ǭ], originating in different dialect developments; the latter pronunciation represents the present E. ɔɔ, while the former appears now in some dialects only. — Horn is unquestionably right in concluding that the spellings recorded by him (l. c.) represent an [ā]-pronunciation of μɛ au, no doubt corresponding to the [ā]- and [ę̄]-pronunciations of μɛ au in some present E. dialects. But this pronunciation need not have been anything more than a dialectal peculiarity which — but for rare exceptions — never really entered the (standard) literary E. used by the (literary) poets and appearing (or meant to appear, at least) in the statements of E. orthoepists. The rimes, and the identification (by many orthoepists) of μɛ au and foreign *a*, adduced by Horn l. c., prove little; cf. § 271 f. & § 269 respectively. As to the identification of the vowels in *law* etc. and *hard* etc. by some foreign orthoepists (Horn l. c.), it may very well be a mistake on the part of these orthoepists (= Luick l. c.), due either to mere ignorance or to the circumstance that the difference between the E. vowels in question was far less considerable than the difference between *o* long and *a* long in their own languages (besides, German had only one long *o*-vowel, corresponding to the E. μɛ ǭ). Very conclusive in this respect is the fact that English grammarians do not make this identification of μɛ au and μɛ ăr(e) etc.

271 Apart from rimes μɛ au : μɛ au (cf. § 40) and the rimes to *-ought* (cf. § 275), SPENSER has the following rimes to μɛ au : 1) *tale* : *call* : *overall* 338 a; 2) *saw* pret. : *overthrow* : *below* : *throw* 302 a; 3) *abroade* : *fraude* 460 b (*abroad* has μɛ ǭ or possibly a vowel = the monophthongic μɛ au, cf. § 301); 4) *roade* pret. : *baude* s. (= bawd) 233 a (*roade* may stand for the Northern *rade*, cf. § 112). — The rimes 1), 3), 4), certainly point to a monophthongic μɛ au; probably a very open [ō]-vowel, different in quality from μɛ ǭ as well as from the conservative 16th c. »back» pronunciation of μɛ ā (§ 252). This special quality of the monophthong fully accounts for the scarcity of rimes to μɛ ā and μɛ ǭ; so it is not necessary to adduce diphthongic pronunciation as an explana-

tion of this fact. — The rime 2) may be based upon the old diphthongic ɹɛ au, but it may also be = monophthongic ɹɛ au : monophthongic ɹɛ ou, as this latter diphthong was in the process of monophthongisation in Spenser's time, cf. § 304.

Among POPE's rimes, the following are of interest for deci- 272
ding upon the quality of ɹɛ au : 1) *call* : *Baal* 407; *law* : *ça* (French) 445; 2) *abroad* : ɹɛ au 147, 291; *groat* : *fault* 442; 3) *unaw'd* : *God* 399; *was* : *draws* 93, 470. — These rimes are not very conclusive as to the pronunciation of ɹɛ au, save for its being a monophthong, which is a matter of course in Pope's time; but they are not incompatible with the theory of a »wide» [ɔɔ]. An [ā]-sound is not proved by the rimes 1); because the French (etc.) *a* (in *ça;* possibly used also in *Baal*, cf. Ekw. § 95) is wrongly identified with, and pronounced as, (the monophthongic) ɹɛ au by the E. orthoepists and certainly also by the public up to the present time [cf. above § 269, Walker; and further Kenrick (Ellis p. 1051), Sharp (Ellis p. 1052); see besides Storm p. 57]. The total absence of rimes to the close ɹɛ ǭ is not surprising, there being practically no traditional authority for rimes of this kind [cf. Spenser above; Dryden, Dierberger § 37 ff., no cases; for-*ought* see § 276]; the difference of orthography may also have had some influence.

In BYRON's time ɹɛ au was undoubtedly an [ɔɔ]-sound in 273
the Southern E. pronunciation, as appears from e. g. Kenrick and Walker; but Byron's rimes make it probable that his pronunciation of ɹɛ au was the Sc. E. unrounded »low back wide» cf. § 26. — The rimes in point are the following (the rimes *shall, canal* : ɹɛ ăl may be purely traditional (cf. § 123), and the rimes ɹɛ au : French *a* prove as little regarding the pronunciation of ɹɛ au as Pope's *law* : *ça*; irrelevant in the present case is also the rimes to ɹɛ wă, incl. *was*, cf. § 131) : 1) *Cossacque* : *attack* : *walk* 735 a; *caught, taught, daughter, slaughter* : *water* : *flatter, matter* (6 cases); *man* : *spawn* : *can* 777 a; *man* : *ataghan* : *Amaun* (?, not in NED) 251 a; *as* : *was* : *cause* 784 b. 2) *was* : *pass* : *cause* 370 b; *was* : *bass* : *maws* 654 a. 3) *yawn, Sirs* : *dancers* 61 a. [Cf. besides 4) the rime *laurels* : *Charles* 371 a, §§ 132, 133.]

The rimes 1), 2), can hardly be due to tradition : Spenser and Pope have none; Dryden only one, *man* : *drawn* 163 (and *cause* : *was* 622) to judge from Dierberger § 39; the orthography does not support them, and they are too numerous to be occasional emergency rimes. This being so, it seems impossible that the

rimes 1) should be meant to be rimes [æ] : [ɔɔ] (W. a^4 : a^3) according to the Southern pronunciation of the time. In Sc. E. pronunciation on the other hand (see § 26), they would be rimes v̆l : v̄l (cf. also for quantity in Sc. E., above § 24); and even if they were not quite so in Byron's pronunciation (for Byron's μɛ ă cf. § 266), they were no doubt based upon the Sc. E. pronunciation of μɛ au. — The rimes *awkward* : *backward* : *stuck hard* (2 cases), *withdrawn* : *down* : *frown* 710 b, *paused* : *caused* : *chased* 729 a are too anomalous to be of any use in the present question.

It is true, there are some rimes μɛ au : μɛ ǭ and : μɛ ŏ (rimes *-ought*, (*a*)*broad* : μɛ ǭ & μɛ ŏ do not count, cf. §§ 277, 301 respectively) : 1) *notion* : *ocean* : *precaution* 731 b; *caused*, *paused* : μɛ ǭ (3 cases); *thought* : *remote* : *caught* : *sought* 194 a; *Minotaur* : *wore* : *more* 667 a; *Tauris* : *bore his* 770 a. 2) *fraud* : *God* 374 a; *bother* : *author* 162 a; and *dollars* : *colours* : *bawlers* 699 a. — As to the rimes 1), the difference between the rime-vowels in Sc. E. pronunciation is not great enough to make rimes impossible, at least not with a careless rimer like Byron; in fact there is a rime, *laureate* : *tory at* : *are ye at* 625 a, that is best explained by the Sc. E. pronunciation of μɛ au. Besides it should be noted that the rimes 1) with one exception only occur in DJ (cf. § 248). — To the rimes 1) there is at least one corresponding in Pope's rimes (*God* : *unaw'd*); cf. Dryden's *taught* : *got* 421, Dierberger § 40. Traditional influence is not excluded, especially as rimes of this kind (= v̆l : v̄l) are very probably used by other 18th c. poets more freely than by Pope.

In SWINBURNE'S pronunciation μɛ au is of course = present E. ɔɔ; for the rimes see §§ 66, 131 (cf. §§ 20, 277, 310, 317).

274 **b.** ME ăl(c) > present E. aa.

SPENSER and POPE have no rimes [except for Pope's *safe* : *laugh* 61 (cf. § 276)] that show the branching of ME ălᶜ (Luick, Anglia 16, 462 ff.) leading to present E. [ei (*safe*)](aa (*half*)](ɔɔ (*walk*, *bald*). Spenser's *salve* (= save) : *behalve* s. 250 a is irrelevant, cf. § 116. — BYRON has the rime *safe* : *half* : *chafe* 692 b, where he seems to have in mind the vowel [ǣ] in *half*, still given by Bch and Sheridan (Ellis); if the rime is not merely modelled on earlier rimes, cf. e. g. Dryden's *knaves* : *halves* 162 (Dierberger § 1), Pope's *safe* : *laugh* 61. [I have not taken into consideration rimes of the types *half* : *laugh*, *walk* : *hawk*, in Byron and Swinburne.]

c. ME. -ought, -aught (incl. laugh & laughter).

Rimes *-aught* : *-ought*, and reverse spellings *-aught* ~ *-ought*, 275
occur in plenty before SPENSER's time (in Skelton, Hawes, Tottel, Heywood, etc.; cf. Unna p. 33, where further references are given), while certain rimes ɱɛ au : ɱɛ ou are hardly to be found. The rimes might be due to want of rime-words for the group *-aught*, yet the reverse spellings remain; so that especially with regard to the later development there is a great probability of *-ought* and *-aught* being at least occasionally identified already about 1500, either on account of dialectal developments or of analogical influence producing doublets ɱɛ au ~ ɱɛ ou (Horn Gr. § 142). — This may be the explanation also of SPENSER's numerous rimes and occasional reverse spellings of this kind (cf. § 62; B. §§ 179 & 190 f.). However, the two groups *-aught*, *-ought* were probably kept apart as a rule in Spenser's own pronunciation or in the (standard) literary language of his time; this seems to be implied by the great superiority in number of the rimes *-ought* : *-ought* (much greater than in Pope's rimes) and from the fact that all Spenser's reverse spellings *-aught* ~ *-ought* can be explained as adaptations to the spelling of other words in the same rimes. — B. § 191, and Luick E. St. 26,268, consider these rimes as consciously inaccurate ([au] : [ou]). — The rime *begot* : *whot* (= hot) : *got* : *brought* 289 b seems to point to the later pronunciation of *-ought* with monophthong and the fricative dropped; but it proves nothing as to the more or less open quality of this eventual monophthong (cf. § 311 f. & § 314). — The rime *water* (cf. § 279) : *laughter* 575 b may be a rime ɱɛ ā : ɱɛ au (Gill transcribes »lauñter«) or possibly = ɱɛ au : ɱɛ au; but it may as well be = ɱɛ ă : ɱɛ ăf (Gill : »dialecti laf«), cf. the rime *gotten* : *soften* : *often* 229 b. — In *draught* ɱɛ au seems to be ascertained by the (four) rimes to *-ought*, *-aught* = present E. ɔɔ (§ 122).

POPE's rimes *-ought* : *-aught* (§ 62) should be accepted as 276
correct, on account of the contemporary orthoepistical evidence of ɱɛ au in *-ought*. — Besides the comparatively numerous rimes to *-aught* (incl. *draught*), *-ought* is rimed only : ɱɛ ū 474, ɱɛ ŏ 487, and, finally, : *groat* (3 cases) which had ɱɛ au ~ ɱɛ ǭ (cf. § 302). To ɱɛ ǭ and ɱɛ ou there are no rimes. — The absence of rimes of *-aught* to ɱɛ ŏ and to *groat* may very well be due to mere chance, especially as the words *-aught* are much less numerous than the words *-ought* (cf. the fact that only *-ought*, not *-aught*, is rimed with

draught). — Thus there is no sign in Pope's rimes of the identity of *-ought* and ME ou in general, stated by several orthoepists from Gill down to the 18th c.; cf. Luick, Anglia 16, 452 ff. Such rimes are not, however, totally missing in early Mod. E. : Dierberger § 40 gives three cases from Dryden (*brought, thought* : *float, note* 567, 584, 610)) no rimes *-aught* : ME ǭ; Walker's Rhyming Dict. gives one from Broome (*thought* : *wrote*), and Mead p. 114 quotes from Waller 3 cases (*thought* : *note, wrote*). — *laugh* has the »front» vowel leading to the present E. aa(f) in the rime *safe* : *laugh* 61 (whether [æ̆] or [ǣ] is meant cannot be decided); *draught* on the other hand has ME au in the rimes to *-ought* (4 cases).

277 BYRON rimes *-ought* : *-aught* evidently without any hesitation; e. g. in CH *aught, caught, taught* : *ought, sought, thought, wrought* 194 b, 216 b, 218 b, 223 a, 230 a, 241 a;) *taught* : *fraught* 219 a; *thought* : (-)*wrought* 204 a, 218 a. But in rimes to other vowels, he makes an obvious distinction between the two groups; doubtless on account of Sc. E. influence (cf. § 26). Thus, there are 6 rimes ME ă : *-aught*) none : *-ought;* 3 rimes ME ŏ : *-ought*) none : *-aught*; 13 rimes ME ǭ : *-ought* (incl. *boat* : *thought* : *lot* 657 b)) only 1 rime : *-aught* (+ : *-ought*). The scarcity of rimes of *-aught* to ME ǭ and to ME ŏ might possibly be put down to the inferiority in number of the words *-aught* (this may very well be the case in Swinburne's rimes), but the rimes ME ă : *-aught* certainly point to some phonetic ground for the division of the rimes to *-ought* and *-aught*. In fact, it seems probable that, in Byron's pronunciation, ME -aught had ME au (cf. § 273), and ME -ought a vowel standing between ME au and ME ou (= *(a)broad*, cf. § 301).

SWINBURNE'S rimes *-ought* : *-aught* are of course correct rimes [ɔɔ] : [ɔɔ]; the rimes to present E. ɔ (§ 131) are rimes v̄l : v̆l.

278 **d.** ME wăr(c) (incl. quăr(c)). water.

[As to the lengthening influence of -r(c), cf. § 282].

In SPENSER'S rimes (§§ 40, 122, 124, 164) there are no signs of an influence of the *w* on the vowel in ME wăr(c); the rime *swarmd* : *deformd* : *armd* : *warmd* 126 b proves nothing in this respect because containing also ME ărc, and it is besides outweighed by the three cases ME ăr(c) : ME ŏrc (§ 122).

POPE has the rimes *war* : *abhor* (2 cases), *warm* : *form* (2 cases), illustrating the *w*-influence asserted by contemporary orthoepists; the rimes are the more conclusive because no rimes ME ăr(c) :

μɛ ŏr(c) occur. — On the other hand there are the rimes μɛ wăr(c) : μɛ ăr(c) (16 cases); further μɛ wăr(c) : μɛ ār, μɛ air, *bear, tear* (9 cases), *reward* : *appear'd* 378; in which μɛ wăr(c) is treated as equivalent to μɛ ăr(c). These rimes seem to authorize the conclusion that Pope knew a »front» vowel ([æ] or [æ̆]) in μɛ wăr(c), a pronunciation still recorded in many words by 18th c. orthoepists (especially foreigners, cf. Löwisch p. 40; for Jones, cf. Ekw. § 101).

Byron's rimes point to complete identification of μɛ wăr(c) and μɛ ăr(c), viz. under the Sc. E. »Low back wide» (cf. § 26). In the first place there are the particularly numerous rimes μɛ wăr(c) : μɛ ăr(c). Then there is the fact that μɛ wăr(c) and μɛ ăr(c) are treated quite equally in the rimes to other vowels; except that the rimes μɛ wăr(c) : μɛ ār and : μɛ ĕrc are fewer than the corresponding rimes of μɛ ăr(c), which difference may, however, be put down to mere chance, as the rimes μɛ ăr(c) : μɛ ār and : μɛ ĕrc not are very numerous either. The rime *far* : present E. e is, to some extent at least, counter-balanced by the rime *warrior* : present E. e 732 b. — The rimes are as follows. μɛ wăr(c) : μɛ ăr(c) (numerous); *conferr'd* : *reward* : *card* 769 b. μɛ ărc : μɛ ĕrc (§ 169; 5 cases; for *hearth* : present E. əə, cf. § 348). *war(ring)* : μɛ ă (3 cases) [cf. *warrior* (§ 133) : μɛ ă 3 cases; : μɛ ĕ 732 b, § 135] X *far* : μɛ ĕ 372 a. *reward* : *prepared* (2 cases) X μɛ ăr(c) : present E. eə (9 cases). μɛ wăr(c) : μɛ ŏr(c) (13 cases); *form* : *worm* : *conform* : *warm* 213 b X μɛ ăr(c) (: μɛ wăr(c)) : μɛ ŏr(c) (9 cases); *forms* : *worms* : *charms* 719 a. — Cf. *laurels* : *Charles* 371 a (§ 132). — Traditional influence may be adduced to explain the occurrence of the rimes of μɛ wăr(c) and of μɛ ăr(c) which deviate from the present E. pronunciation, but this explanation does not apply to the parallelism of the rimes of μɛ wăr(c) and of μɛ ăr(c). Especially the fact that the rimes containing μɛ ăr(c) : μɛ ŏr(c) are almost equal in number to the rimes μɛ wăr(c) : μɛ ŏr(c), seems a conclusive proof of the identification of μɛ wăr(c) and μɛ ăr(c) in Byron's pronunciation. — At any rate, this fact certainly proves that μɛ wăr(c) and μɛ ŏr(c) (both = present E. ɔɔ) were not identified in Byron's pronunciation.

Swinburne's rimes (§ 66) show the present E. pronunciation. The only deviating cases, the few rimes μɛ wăr(c) : μɛ ăr(c) (§ 122), are traditional.

water. This word appears with μɛ ā & μɛ ă in the 16th c. 279
orthoepists. Hart gives μɛ ā (Jespersen § 19) and Bll μɛ ă (Hauck p. 37). — Gill transcribes »water» (= μɛ ă), »wäter» (= μɛ ā)

and »wâter» (»zweifelhaft» according to Horn Gr. § 49, Anm. 2; »â» is used by Gill e. g. for the vowel in *call, bawl*, and is equivalent to his »au» in e. g. *pawn*, Jiriczek p. 30). Mason (Brotanek p. 74) transcribes »ouäter»; = μɛ ă or μɛ au? — Later the word is found only with μɛ au in Ellis' authorities (: Cooper, Miège, Jones, EO, Dyche, Bch, Sheridan) as well as in Kenrick and Walker.

SPENSER has the rimes *water* : *flatter, matter* (2 cases), evidently = μɛ ă : μɛ ă; and *water* : *laughter* 575 b (cf. § 275). — POPE has no rimes to *water*. — BYRON rimes *water* : *daughter* etc. (these rimes have not been collected), further *water* : μɛ ă (8 cases), *water* : *-aught* : μɛ ă (6 cases). In Byron's pronunciation *water* was probably equivalent to words with μɛ au, i. e. he used the Sc. E. long »Low back wide» (cf. §26); it is worthy of note however that in Byron's native dialect the stressed vowel in *water* is = μɛ ă (EDGr. [ă] : »ne. Sc.»). — SWINBURNE'S rimes to *water* are all correct.

280 **e.** ME au < OF ã (cf. Luick, Anglia 16, 479 ff.).

SPENSER. The words with present E. ɔɔ (*haunt, vaunt*, etc.) are rimed, besides *inter se*, with (§ 122) *grant, enchant* (spelt *-au-*) and present E. weak-stressed *-ant* (spelt *-au-*); all rimes μɛ au : μɛ au (cf. B. § 184), as well as the rime *commaund* : *paund* pp. 474 a. — The rimes *demand* : *band* s., *hand, understand* (§ 116; 3 cases) may be = μɛ ă : μɛ ă, in accordance with transcriptions occasionally used by contemporary orthoepists (e. g. Gill : »branch», »dance»; cf. Horn Gr. § 132). — The rimes *want* : *pant* v., *plant* v. (§ 13 2; 3 cases) are not in point; *plant* is an early (i. e. OE) Latin loan (cf. CD : æ; Gill gives μɛ ă in *planted*), and *pant* does not appear until the end of the ME period (NED : first quotation 1440; spelling *-au-* not until the 16th c., cf. æ ~ aa in present E., § 116, foot-note 2).

POPE. The words with present E. ɔɔ (*haunt, vaunt*, etc.) are not used as rimes by Pope. — The numerous rimes *command, demand* : μɛ ă (§ 116) point to a pronunciation [ăe], in accordance with the present E. æ-variant. Such a pronunciation is by no means improbable in Pope's time; cf. Lediard's [ăe] in *dance, branch*, »and . . . generally before *r, n*» Ellis p. 1041. This [ăe] may be the direct continuation of the earlier (occasional) [ă] (e. g. Gill, cf. above), or it may be due to analogical influence of the contemporary variation [ăe] ~ [æ] in words with ME ā |lengthen-

ing consonants. — For the rime *wanted* : *planted* 257 (§ 132), cf. Spenser, above.

Byron. Besides in rimes *haunt, vaunt,* etc. : present E. ɔɔ, and *aunt* : present E. aa (which have not been collected), the words *haunt, vaunt,* etc. (= present E. ɔɔ) and *aunt* are rimed as follows (§§ 122, 123, 186, 187): *chant* : *vaunt* : *aunt* 768 a; *haunt, vaunt* : present E. aa (4 cases); *jaunt, vaunt* : *Kant* n. pr., *cantos, Atlantis* (2 cases); *mansion* : *expansion* : *a stanch one* 814 b; *haunt* : *pant, grant* : *want* (2 cases); *vaunt* : *cant* s. : *want* 627 a. — The words *aunt, haunt, vaunt, daunt,* are pronounced with μɛ ă (= [ă]) in the Southern Sc. dialects (*stanch, haunch* with [ĕ]) cf. Murray p. 144 (EDGr. does not give the words), and it is possible that Byron knew this pronunciation; but probably he used the pronunciation with a long »Low back wide», corresponding (cf. § 26 and the §§ referred to there) to W.'s a^3 in *vaunt,* a^2 in *aunt, daunt, haunt, jaunt, stanch* (Princ. 214-216). — The rimes prove nothing on this point.

To words with present E. aa (and the spelling *a*) Byron has the following rimes of interest [for the rimes to *haunt, vaunt* (+ : other vowels) see just above] : present E. aa : æ (§ 116; numerous); *pant* v. : *faint* 602 a; *yawn, Sirs* : *dancers* 61 a (§ 122); present E. aa : μɛ wă (§ 132; 7 cases); *commander* : *squander* : *salamander* 735 b; *Alexander* : *wander* : *meander* 727 a (§ 189); *France* : *advance* : *once* 155 b; *bronze* : *once* : *glance* 618 b. — The present E. variation aa ~ æ in the words of this group (æ especially in Northern E., cf. Lloyd § 141) may very well have existed in Byron's pronunciation (i. e. as long »Low back wide» ~ μɛ ă). Walker, Princ. 78, gives evidence of this variation a^2 ~ a^4) in *grant, dance,* etc. (in which he recommends a^4 himself). His rule Princ. 79 that »the termination *mand* in *command, demand,* etc. . . . retains the long sound inviolably» need not have been valid with Byron; cf. the fact that Northern E. has [aa] ~ [æ] in the words in *-mand* (Lloyd l. c.), and that *chance, chant, dance,* have [ă] (= μɛ ă) in the present Aberdeen dialect (*branch* [ĕ] in »ne. Sc.» according to EDGr. § 202; these are the only cases of present E. aa < OF ã given by EDGr.). — The rimes do not help us to a more exact determination of Byron's pronunciation of the words in question. The practical absence of rimes to present E. ei & e may be pure chance and does not prove a difference from μɛ ă in Byron's pronunciation; cf. the fact that there

are no rimes of the numerous and frequently used words *hand, land, stand,* etc. (= μɛ ă|n^{c}) : present E. ei & e.

SWINBURNE. Rimes. *(per)chance* etc. : *man's* (§ 116; 2 cases). *wanted* : *panted* PB I:227. — It is evident from the scarcity of these rimes present E. æ : aa, that Swinburne's pronunciation of the words in question is in accordance with the present Southern E. pronunciation. The (traditional) rime PB I: 227 is probably based upon the common pronunciation of *pant* with present E. æ.

281 **f.** μɛ ăth, μɛ ăf$^{(c)}$, μɛ ăs$^{(c)}$, μɛ ăr$^{(c)}$; father, rather.

For rimes to *rath(e), scath(e)*, cf. §§ 107, 118, 119. — To rather there are only irrelevant rimes, except for Byron's *feather* : *rather* : *together* 376 b, for which see § 120. — father has μɛ ă in SPENSER'S rime *father* : *gather* 515 a (cf. *gather* : *scater* 531 a), in accordance with the statements of e. g. Hart and Gill. BYRON'S *father* : *gather* (5 cases) are no doubt mainly traditional (cf. Spenser; further Dryden, Dierb. § 1). In Byron's pronunciation *father* probably had the Sc. E. long »Low back wide» vowel (cf. § 26), so that these rimes are equivalent to e. g. the rimes μɛ au : μɛ ă (§ 273). — To μɛ ăf$^{(c)}$ there are only irrelevant rimes (yet cf. § 61).

282 SPENSER. The certain rimes to μɛ ā(r) are as follows[1].

μɛ ăth : μɛ ā [*bath* : *wrath* : *hat'th* (3 sg.) : *hath* (3 sg.) 87 a]. μɛ ăs : μɛ ā [1 case; uncertain is *embras* s. . . . : *pas* v. 274 b, cf.§ 118]; + : *was* [2 cases]. — μɛ ăs^{c} : μɛ ā [13 cases; the numerous rimes to *chaste, haste, taste, waste*, and, probably, to *waist* s. (spelt *waste*), prove nothing, cf. §§ 118, 182, 184]. — μɛ (w)ăr (only two inflected forms, *barred, marred;* the rimes *are* inf. : μɛ ār & μɛ air do not count, cf. § 117) : μɛ ār [*regard* : *hard* : *mard* : *star'd* 317 b; *mard* : *reward* : *far'd* 159 a; *ward* : *unbard* : *far'd* 275 a; equivalent is *heard* : *debard* : *prepard* 314 b (§ 214 b)]. — μɛ (w)ăr^{c} : μɛ ār^{c} [§§ 117, 124, 183; 20 cases; for *hard* (= heard) : *reward* : *dar'd* 534 b, cf. § 214 a].

These rimes are too numerous to be placed on a level with the few certain cases μɛ ă : μɛ ā (§ 112), and certainly want some special explanation. — Rimes of the type *glass* : *embrace* (*a* | final *s*) occur in Chaucer (cf. Cromie **-as** p. 33). From

[1] Here are included Spenser's rimes μɛ wăr$^{(c)}$: μɛ ār$^{(c)}$, which are quite equivalent (as far as the rime-vowels are concerned) to the rimes μɛ ăr$^{(c)}$: μɛ ār$^{(c)}$ in Spenser's pronunciation.

these rimes ten Brink § 35 infers unsettled quantity of ME ă|*s* in the words *glass, grass, was*; but the opposite conclusion, unsettled quantity of OF a|*s* (in words as *embrace, face,* etc.) in ME seems to be equally well authorized at least by the rimes of the Ellesmere MS. — Any of these alternatives is theoretically possible in the case of Spenser. The 16th c. orthoepists seem to know nothing about a lengthening of the vowel in με ăs(c); while με ă-variants are given e. g. by Hart (Jespersen § 20) in *misplacing, places,* by Bll (Hauck p. 36) in *grace, ace, place, mace* [με ă is however occasionally given for OF a > present E. ei, also in other positions (Hart : *page, persuaded*) as well as for ME ā of Teut. origin (Bll e. g. *naked, wave, graze*)]. Yet, if Spenser knew this pronunciation it would be remarkable that the rimes με ăs (final *s*) : με ā are so few, especially when compared to the numerous rimes με ăsc (i. e. *-ast;* no other cases occur) : με ā; unless we may assume (cf. B. p. 8) a general (late) shortening of the vowel in inflected forms (before two consonants : cf. *conceld* (= concealed), *hepi* (= heaped) : με ĕ § 100; *awakt, -shapt* : με ă § 112); a shortening which seems, however, to be practically unknown to the orthoepists and does not appear in the later development. — On the other hand, this distribution of the rimes (as of the rimes με (w)ăr(c) : με ār(c), cf. below) exactly falls in with the other theory; because already in ME there are some certain cases of a short vowel becoming lengthened | *st* (Grundr. § 86) but not specially | *s* (final), and the Mod. E. lengthening of the vowel is recorded earlier by the orthoepists in the case of με ăsc than in the case of με ăs : cf. Cooper »pæs» χ»pæst» (Ellis).

The rimes με ărc (incl. the rimes contaning *barred, marred*) : με ārc (i. e. *-rd,* no other cases occur) are no doubt signs of an occasional lengthening of ME ă in this position. [ā] is actually given by 16th c. orthoepists in some words with με ărc; cf. Grundr. § 95, and further Hauck p. 31 f. (who quotes from Bll *garden, harm, yarn, warn, quarn*). The absence of rimes με (w)ăr (final *r*) : με ār tallies with the fact that the lengthening force of final *r* is not evidenced in ME and not recognized in the Mod. E. period until much later than that of rc : cf. Cooper & Kenrick, e. g. *bar* (short vowel) χ *barge* (long vowel) [yet exceptionally »fær», »dærk» in Bolling 1678, according to Horn Gr. § 45].

B. § 154 points to the rimes *at last* : *cast* : *past* : *creast* s. (= crest; με ĕ ~ με ę̄, cf. 101) 250 a, *regard* : *reard* 202 a, as certain signs of a lengthened *a*, because με ă is never rimed by

Spenser with μɛ ę̆ or μɛ ĕ. The former rime may simply be due to an alteration at the hands of the printer (cf. § 9 f.) : *cómpast creast*, for an original *créast compást* (cf. *compást* e. g. 195 b); but the latter holds good, as there is no authority for a pp. **rard*, equivalent to the early Mod. E. *hard* (= heard, cf. § 213 f.); cf. Spenser's *shard* (= sheared) § 39. — The rime *hath* : *death* 599 b may be another case of the same kind (cf. § 268). — In these last cases at least — the rimes to present E. əə (< ME ĕr(c)) are irrelevant, cf. § 169 — the lengthened ME ă seems to have a »front» pronunciation (= [æ]). On the other hand the rimes μɛ (w)ărᶜ : μɛ ŏrᶜ (cf. § 314) certainly require a »back» pronunciation of ME ă; but these rimes are best explained as equivalent to the rimes μɛ ă : μɛ ŏ (cf. § 314). — The rime *Carle* : *quar'le* : *marle* 143 a points to a short vowel in *-arl-*.

283 Pope. Rimes. Irrelevant or uncertain cases, see §§ 117, 169. μɛ ăs : μɛ ā (11 cases); μɛ ăsᶜ : μɛ ā (incl. *chaste* etc.) (9 cases). μɛ ăr : μɛ ār, μɛ air, *bear*, *wear* (5 cases); *hard* : *dared* 483. *star* : *revere* 231. μɛ ărᶜ : μɛ ĕrᶜ (10 cases). μɛ ăr(c) : μɛ wăr(c) (16 cases). Besides *was* : *pass* 329 (cf. § 310).

The orthoepists of Pope's time give a »front» vowel in μɛ ăs(c)& μɛ ăr(c), and this pronunciation is certainly at the bottom of all the rimes given above, also in those to μɛ wăr(c) and the rime to *was* (cf. §§ 278, 310). The distinction between short vowel in μɛ ăs & μɛ ăr χ long vowel in μɛ ăsᶜ & μɛ ărᶜ, recorded by Cooper, cf. § 282 (the same difference is made by Kenrick in μɛ ăr χ μɛ ărᶜ, while he gives [æ] in both μɛ ăs and μɛ ăsᶜ) does not appear in the rimes; so that it seems probable that Pope knew a pronunciation with long vowel (= [æ]) also in μɛ ăs & μɛ ăr (cf. Bolling 1678 : [æ] in *far*, above § 282). On the other hand the rimes to μɛ ĕrᶜ are best explained as based upon a variant of μɛ ărᶜ with short vowel (= Lediard's [æ] in *hard*, *march*, »and this generally before *r*, *n*», Ellis p. 1041), cf. § 348. — The variant of μɛ wăr(c) with a »front» vowel (cf. § 278) is of course equivalent to μɛ ăr(c) as regards the lengthening force of r(c).

284 Byron. Rimes. Irrelevant or uncertain cases, see § 119. For Byron's pronunciation and rimes of μɛ ăr(c), cf. § 278.

masses : *places* : *embraces* 377 b. μɛ ăsᶜ : μɛ ā (incl. *haste* etc.) (11 cases). *passage* : *message* : *presage* 797 b; *gesture* : *vesture* : *pasture* 775 b. μɛ ăs(c) : *as*, *gas*, *passus* (Lat.); *hast* (12 cases). *was* : *class*, *pass* : *as*, *has* (3 cases). μɛ ăs(c) : *was*, *wast* (cf. § 310)

(numerous). *was* : *pass* : *cause* 370 b. — *path, lath* (,*wrath* cf. § 119) : *hath* (3 cases).

The general Sc. E. pronunciation of με ăs(c) is either with the usual Sc. E. deep [ă] (Bell Pr. of El. p. 35) or with an [ĕ]-sound (Bell l. c., Storm p. 400). Storm l. c. considers this »front» vowel as an imperfect approximation to the Southern E. sound; but [ĕ] is the pronunciation used in the Sc. dialects — except in the Southern counties, where an [ăe]-sound is used — in most Teut. words of this class. EDGr. gives *ass, brass, glass, grass, fast, fasten, hasp* (,*wasp*) [of Rom. words EDGr. gives no information, but Murray p. 144 gives the Sc. E. deep [ă] in e. g. *pass, past, castle*]. — The pronunciation of με ăs(c) most likely to have been used by Byron is his usual με ă (cf. Walker, who gives ME ă |s(c) = »a⁴» as the best pronunciation, while »a²» in such words »borders very closely on vulgarity», Principles 79); and, in fact, his rimes to με ăs(c) correspond very closely to his rimes to με ă (cf. § 266). It is only to be observed that the signs of a »back» pronunciation (= [ă]) are — probably quite accidentally — far less marked in the rimes to με ăs(c) then in those to με ă; consisting only of the solitary rime to *cause* (: *was*) and the numerous, but certainly mainly traditional, rimes to *was* and *wast*. — The rimes to με ĕ may (but need not, of course) imply influence of the dialectal [ĕ] in με ăs(c) (cf. the rimes present E. æ : e, § 266).

Byron's pronunciation of the vowel in *path, lath* was probably either = a long »Low back wide» (cf. § 26; further e. g. § 278) : Walker gives »a²», Lloyd § 141 the same vowel in *path* in Northern E.; or (possibly) = με ă : EDGr. § 23 gives *bath, path* generally with με ă (yet it records *bath* with [ā] from »Inv.» and »ne. Sc.»). — The rimes of course prove nothing.

SWINBURNE. The rimes deviating from the present Southern E. pronunciation (aa) — a few rimes to present E. ei (§ 119, 2 cases), present E. ɔɔ (με wăr(c), § 122), present E. æ (§ 116; *hath*) and a remarkably large number of rimes to *was, wast* (§ 132) — may all be regarded as purely traditional. 285

g. Present E. ɔɔ < ME ū & ŏ | r(c) (= Walker o¹ & o³ | r(c)). 286

A. — According to Luick, Anglia 16, 455 ff., the following are the outlines of the history in the Mod. E. period of the words with Walker's o¹|r(c) (< early Mod. E. [ū] & [ō]) and o²|r (< ME ǭ|final r) [the words with present E. əə given in Luick's groups are here disregarded, cf. §§ 164, 165, 167, 169, 355. For practical reasons I

have re-arranged Luick's groups and added the equivalent (i. e. in Walker's pronunciation) words occurring in the rimes].

a (Luick's groups 1, 2, 3). ME o̤|final r : *swore, ore* (Luick l. c. p. 461), *door, floor; whore, poor.* »*moor* ist nicht belegt.» — Early Mod. E. [ū]; > [ō] about 1700. — An equivalent word is probably *Moor* (F. More), ME *More, Moore, Mowre* (CD); cf. the forms with *-oo-* (and *-ore*) quoted by CD and Skeat Et. D. from the beginning of the 17th c., and further Jones' *More* with [ū]. — [*door* (Bll & Gill [ō]) may have ME o̤; cf. e. g. Viëtor, El. § 45, Anm. 7, Sh. § 48.]

b_{I} (Luick's group 4). ME o̤|r^{c} : *forth, afford, hord* (= hoard), *ford, board* [*word*]. — Early Mod. E. [ū]; > [ō] about 1700.

b_{II} (Luick's groups 5, 6, 7). ME ū|r^{c} : *bourn* (= brook), *mourn, sword* [*worm, work, world, worth, worse, worst*]; *court, gourd, course, source, discourse, form* [»*scourge* stets u, ɐ»]; *fourth.* — Early Mod. E. [ū]; > [ō] about 1700. — Equivalent words: *coarse* (cf NED), *recource, de-, per-, reform; horde* (or belonging to group *c* ?).

c (Luick's groups 8, 9). ME o̤|r^{c} (< OE [ŏ-] and OF ŏ; cf. § 288) [*boar* < OE ā, see group *d*] : *born(e), sworn, worn, torn, shorn; force, divorce, forge, sport, port* »und composita». — »Zunächst gilt» [ō]; [ū] »taucht auf . . . am ende des 17 jahrhunderts»; [ū] > [ō] about 1700, with groups *a, b.* — Equivalent words : *(for)lorn, beforne; corse* (»dead body»), *remorse, fort, forte* (F.), *sort, resort, consort* v. (cf. § 69, beginning) [*purport, effort, consort* s.], *portal, porch, portion; scorse* (? cf. B. § 119; Cooper gives [ū]). — In some of these Walker has o^{1} ~ o^{3}, cf. § 290.

d. ME o̤|final r; e. g. *more, bore, sore,* etc. [ū] is given by Cooper in *boar* (Luick l. c.) and by Hodges in *more* (?, cf. § 288, end). — The usual development of this group is : early Mod. [o̤] > 18th c. [o̤]; Walker o^{1}.

287 In the words with Walker's o^{3}|r^{c} (< ME ŏ), ME ŏ remains short — at least as a rule — up to the second half of the 17th c., when ɹɛ ŏ has become a very open vowel, so that it gives, when lengthened, a very open long vowel (= ɹɛ au), i. e. probably a »wide» [ɔɔ] (§ 269); cf. Miège: »bârn», Ellis p. 1004; Jones: *sort* (,*soft*) under the rule *au-o*, Ekw. § 284. — The following words of this group occur in the rimes:

e. absorb, disorb; lord (ME o̤ ~ ŏ), *accord, record, cord, chord, border, order; storm; corn, horn, Horn* (n. pr.), *morn, thorn; adorn* (cf. § 291), *scorn, suborn, corner, Horner* (n. pr.), *hornet; horse, morsel; short, tort, exhort, dis-, ex-, retort; mortal; forty; furtune;*

importune, torture; north; forward; (dis)gorge [*George*, not in W.; yet cf. Kenrick p. V; Bch & Sheridan, Ellis p. 1077]; *torch; abortion, distortion.*

f. A special group is formed by the words with Walker's o^3 (< ME ŏ) |final r; cf. § 295. In the rimes occur *abhor, for,* and *or.*

On the authority of Spenser's rimes, B. § 118 points to the 288
probability that in the (standard) literary language of the 16th c. ME o̤r (final r) was represented not only by the regular [ūr], but also by an [ōr] due to the influence of *-r* on the preceding vowel (cf. ME ę̄r). — Horn (U. p. 35 ff.; Gr. § 105) takes up this theory in a somewhat altered form. He concludes from orthoepistical statements and from occasional spellings — he does not accept rimes as proof (= Luick E. St. 26, 266) — that the early Mod. E. [ū]|r(c) (< ME o̤|r(c) = groups *a*, b_{I}, *c*; and < ME ū|rc = group b_{II}) was kept in some dialects, while in others it changed to [o̤] in the 16th c., and that these two developments became mixed in the literary language; only towards the end of the 17th c. the [ō]-forms definitely got the upper hand in most words. — This theory is very plausible in the case of the groups *a* & *b*. In the case of group *c* there is a decidedly weak point: the late appearance of the [ū]-pronunciation (only Cooper : *born(e), sworn, worn, force,* & EO : *born(e), shorn, torn*; *divorce, force,* etc.), which — especially as the pronunciations [ŏ] and [ō] are often recorded by 16th and early 17th c. orthoepists — makes the existence of a ME o̤ in these words (= Horn) very doubtful. Most likely they are to be considered as ME o̤-words and to be placed on a level with *boar* (given with [ū] by Cooper) and (possibly) *more* (given with [ū] by Hodges 1644, according to Horn Gr. § 105, Anm. 3; yet cf. Ellis p. 1022 : Hodges (1643) »mower more» »alike in sound», which seems to imply an [ō] in *more*); i e. the [ū] in the words of group *c* is due to the analogy of words in which there was a phonetically legitimate vacillation [ū] ~ [ō] (= groups *a* & *b*).

Besides this variation [ū]~[ō], which effects an intercourse of 289
the groups *a, b, c, d,* on the basis of an [ū]- or an [ō]-vowel, intermixings of the different groups are theoretically possible on another account, viz. a variation [ū]~[ō]~[ŏ] in the words of groups b_{I}, *c, e, f* (possibly also in *sword*, cf. B. § 117, Viëtor Sh. § 53; and in *world, word*, of which early Mod. E. [ŏ]- forms are actually recorded, cf. Luick l. c., B. & Viëtor ll. cc.), due to different developments of OE ŏ and OF (Lat.) ŏ (cf. Luick l. c., Viëtor Sh. l.

c.). OE ŏ in *closed* syllable was either 1) lengthened in early ME : result [o̤] which went with other ME o̤ > early Mod. E. ū, later > [o̤]|r, cf. § 288 (= group b_1); or 2) retained up to late ME and then lengthened : result [o̤] = early Mod. E. ō (cf. the [ō]-forms of *corn* etc. below) ; or 3) retained into the Mod.E. period = early Mod. E. ŏ > later [ɔɔ] (groups *e* & *f*). OE [ŏ-] (in *boren* pp., etc.) and the [ŏ] in words appearing in the language only in ME (ŏ < OF and Lat.) develop either according to 2) or according to 3), resulting in group *c* and groups *e* & *f* respectively. — Now, there are no intrinsic grounds discernible for the words adopting one or the other of the possible developments; so it is to be expected that the actual division of the words was preceded by a time of vacillation between the different developments. — In fact, the early Mod. E. orthoepists afford some instances of this vacillation. As to the words generally following rule 1), *board* (Gill; Hodges, Horn Gr. l. c.) and *forth* (Hodges, Horn l. c.) are recorded with an [ō] which may be due to rule 2) as well as to rule 1) ([ūr] > [o̤r]), see above. Certain [ŏ]-forms are not found [only in *word, world,* cf. above]; Luick quotes »*hord*» with [ŏ] from EO, but if this form is taken from Ellis p. 1077 (cf. Luick, Anglia 16, 452) it seems to be a mistake, as Ellis' »hord» is certainly only meant to render EO's spelling of *hoard.* — As to the words following rule 3), a deviating form with [ō] [according to rule 2); certainly not according to rule 1) ([ō] < [ū]), as no [ū]-forms appear of the words of groups *e* & *f*] is found in *corn, thorn, former* (Bll, Hauck p. 19); besides in *lord,* where already ME o̤ ~ ŏ. — The words generally following rule 2) have very often an [ŏ] (in accordance with rule 3)); thus Gill gives [ŏ] in e. g. *borne* (and *born*), *worn, torn, forlorn* (W. o^3 ~ o^1), *force, divorce, forge, sport, fort, resort* (W. o^4 ~ o^1); Bll (according to Ellis p. 883) gives [ŏ] in *borne* (and [ō] in *born*).

290 After the [ū]-forms in groups *b, c* had been universally abandoned (about 1700), intermixings of the two new groups W. o^1 & W. o^3 are explicable on the basis both of the old [ō]-forms in group *e* and of the old [ŏ]-forms especially in group *c;* the latter forms being by far the more numerous, they are of course more likely to survive than the few [ō]-forms in group *e.* Such relations between the two new groups are actually implied by W.'s hesitating between o^3 (& o^4) and o^1 in some words : in *forlorn, remorse, sort,* o^1 is given only as an unusual pronunciation; *shorn* has only o^3 in the edition of 1791, o^1 in later editions; *resort*

has o,[4] seldom o[1], according to the edition of 1791, o[3], seldom o[1], according to later editions; and *consort* v. is given with o[3] only.

In *form* W. gives o[3] (= shape etc.) ⟩⟨ o[1] (= seat etc.), a distinc- 291
tion made already by Cooper (»wide» [ɔɔ], cf. § 269 ⟩⟨ [ū]). W.'s o[3] and Cooper's »wide» [ɔɔ] certainly point to an earlier [ŏ], as do Bll's [ō] in *perform* (Viëtor Sh. § 53; cf. B. § 119) and Spenser's rime *deform* : ɹɛ (w)ărᶜ 126 b. — The [o̤]-and [ū]-vowels given by Cooper, Miège, EO, correspond to the 16th (& 17th) c. spelling *-ou-* (NED; cf. Spenser's *-ou-* in the rime *perfourmed* : *refourmed* : *tourned* 303 a, § 164; further Unna p. 21). — A somewhat -imilar case is *adorn*. This word has ME ū and is often spelt *sou-* in the 16th c. (NED). The pronunciation [ū] was, however, evidently abandoned very early; Gill has [ŏ]; W. o[3]. Spenser rimes the word only : ɹɛ ŏ and : ɹɛ o̤. Cf. B. § 119.

B. — W. o[1]r < ME ǭ (= group *a*, § 286). Spenser. The rimes 292
door, floor, ore : ME ǭ (§ 67) require no further comment; they are no doubt meant as rimes [o̤] : [ǭ]. The rimes *floor* : (*pour* v. +) F. ending *-our* (2 cases, § 138), might also be based on [o̤] in *floor* (cf. §§ 293, 319); but they are probably intended to be = [ū] : [ū], as indicated by the spelling *floure*. An [ū]-pronunciation is proved in *door, floor, ore* by the rimes to ɹɛ ū (§§ 150, 197), as there are no rimes ɹɛ ū(r) : ɹɛ o̤(r).

Pope. The rimes to *door, floor, swore* show the regular vowel = ɹɛ o̤ in these words. There is nothing that points to an [ū]-vowel; the rimes to *whore, poor, amours* are of interest only for the vowel in these words (cf. § 321).

Byron's and Swinburne's rimes *door, floor, swore, ore* : present E. ɔɔ are of no interest. — For the rimes to present E. uə (§ 138) and present E. auə (§ 150), cf. §§ 322, 330.

C. — pour v. (cf. NED) seems to enter the Mod. E. period as 293
pour(e) (14th c. etc., = ɹɛ ū), *pore* (15th c., probably = ɹɛ o̤), *poor* (Palsgrave, Shakespeare; probably = ɹɛ o̤). The usual early Mod. E. pronunciation is ɹɛ ū, mentioned (though disapprovingly) still by W. (who recommends a pronunciation = *poor*); the »late 18th c. and 19th c.» pronunciation ɹɛ o̤r »is not easy to account for»; it may be a »dialectal survival of the 15th c. *pore*, though connecting evidence is wanting; it may also repr. 16th c. *poor* (= pūr) altered as in *floor, door* . . .» (NED). — Spenser's usual pronunciation of *pour* is with ɹɛ ū, as appears from his numerous rimes to ɹɛ ū (§ 150; 12 cases), to which the rimes *paramoure* : *succoure* : *floure* (= floor) : *poure* 133 b, and

poure: floure (= floor): *power: devoure* 575 b, are probably equivalent (cf. § 292). The 15th c. *pore* (or the 16th c. *poor*) appears in the rime *pour'd* : *Lord* : *accord* 262 a (§ 67). — POPE rimes *pour* only : μɛ ū (§ 150; 3 cases), no doubt in accordance with his own pronunciation. — BYRON generally rimes *pour* as a μɛ ǭ-word : cf. his rimes to W. o^1r (equivalent are *Moor, Moore* cf. § 322) (numerous, §§ 67, 138), to W. o^1r^c & o^3r^c (§ 67; 5 cases) and to W. u^2r^c (§ 168; 3 cases). On the other hand, there are 6 rimes to μɛ ū (§ 150). These may be due to a μɛ ū-variant of *pour* in Byron's pronunciation; or else to tradition. — SWINBURNE treats *pour* just like μɛ ǭr in general. I have found no rimes to μɛ ū (such are however used by Swinburne according to NED).

294 D. — W. o^1r < ME ǭ | r (final) (= group *d*, § 286). Apart from the possibility of an occasional [ū] (~ [ō]), cf. § 288, ME ǭ | final r followed the development of ME ǭ in general (= μɛ ǭ) up to the 19th c. »broadening» | $ı^{(c)}$. The rimes prove nothing as to the quality of the vowel (cf. μɛ ǭ, § 303); as they are easily found (§§ 40, 66, 67-72, 122, 124, 131, 150 151, 156, 164, 167, 168, 212), I do not give them here.

295 E. — W. o^3r < ME ŏ | r (final) (= group *f*; § 287) [Only *abhor* need be considered, the only word of this group used as a rime by Spenser and Pope. With Byron and Swinburne μɛ ŏr is quite equivalent to μɛ $ŏı^c$].

abhor must be considered to have entered the Mod. E. period with [ŏ], no lengthening of short vowel | final r being known in OE and ME. Now, SPENSER rimes the word (§§ 68, 164) with *accord, lord, board* (spelt *bord*), *sword, word*, which all have, or may have, [ŏ], but also with ME ǭ | final r where [ŏ] is impossible. An [ǭ] in *abhor* (cf. the spelling *-ore* in the three rimes to ME -ǭre, § 68) is explicable only as due to some kind of analogy. — IN POPE's time even the uninflected *abhor* may possibly have a lengthened vowel. It is true, still Kenrick has o^7 (= μɛ ŏ) in *abhor*) generally o^5 (= μɛ au) in μɛ ŏr^c (cf. μɛ ăr$^{(c)}$, § 282); yet Kenrick has a short vowel also in *war, far*, where long vowels are actually found in the 17th c. (Cooper »wAAr», Ellis; besides Bolling 1678 »fær», Horn Gr. § 45). — Pope has the rimes *abhor* : *more* 297; : *whores* 325; : *war* 397 469. The first two rimes are no doubt phonetically incorrect, = [ɔ] : [ǭ] or possibly »wide» [ɔɔ] (cf. § 287) : [ǭ].

296 F. — W $o^{1}ı^c$ and $o^{3}ı^c$ (groups *b, c, (d,) e*; §§ 286, 287). SPENSER.

To what extent the special Mod. E. lengthening of ME ŏ|$_{1}$^{c} (leading to e. g. Cooper's »wide» [ɔɔ] and the present E. ɔɔ) may have been at work already in Spenser's time, it is impossible to decide, as [ŏ] and [ō] were mixed |$_{1}$^{c} from other reasons, cf. § 289 f. — The theoretical [ŏ] (< OE ŏ) or the [o̩] (< ME o̩|$_{1}$^{c}) seems to be required by the rimes §§ 68, 69, as phonetic variants, in *(a)board, afford, ford, hoard, sword* (cf. Spenser's usual spelling *-o- ~ -oo-* in *board, afford, ford*; see B. § 114); the [o̩] < ME ū|$_{1}$^{c} in *mourn, course, discourse, recourse, source, court* (Spenser's *scorse* is not certain, cf. § 286, *c*), cf. the rime (and spelling) *Corte* (= court) : *torte* s. 523a. — B. § 119 assumes, mainly on account of the consistent spelling *-ou-* and the absence of rimes to μ.ε ŏ$_{1}$^{c} (group *e*), that *source, course, discourse, court* had only [ū] in Spenser's pronunciation. Now, there is outside FQ the *-o-*form 523 a; and the absence of rimes to μ.ε ŏrs might be due to Spenser's knowing only [ŏ] (short) in *horse* which is pactically the only possible rime-word with μ.ε ŏrs. — Thus the rimes do not imply that Spenser knew the (analogical, cf. § 288) [ū] in groups *c, d,* which does not appear in the orthoepists until long after Spenser's time; nor the purely theoretical [ū] in group *e*. — For the few rimes present E. əə : W. o^{1} r^{c} & o^{3} $_{1}$^{c} that are not uncertain or irrelevant (§§ 164, 165, 166), cf. § 355. — *report, enforced* show the regular ME o̩ in the rimes to μ.ε o̩ 132 a, 375 b (§ 128).

Pope shows no hesitation whatever in riming W. o^{1}r^{c} : o^{3}r^{c}; cf. especially his rimes to *horse*. How far this may be due to varying pronunciation is impossible to tell, because the rimes might very well be purely traditional (and orthographical) rimes [ɔ] : [o̩] or »wide» [ɔɔ] (cf. § 287) : [o̩]. — There is nothing in the rimes that points to an [ū] in any of the groups.

Byron. The indiscriminate use of W. o^{1}$_{1}$^{c} & o^{3}$_{1}$^{c} in rimes *inter se* proves no more in Byron than in Pope: tradition (and partly the orthography) can very well account for the rimes. On the other hand the great number of these rimes might also possibly be due to Sc. E. influence (see § 26). Cf. Byron's obvious distinction between μ.ε wăr$^{(c)}$: μ.ε ŏr$^{(c)}$, § 278.

Swinburne's rimes W. o^{1}r^{c} : o^{3}$_{1}$^{c} are in accordance with the present Southern E. pronunciation.

h. μ.ε ŏth; μ.ε ŏf$^{(c)}$, μ.ε ŏs$^{(c)}$. 297

Spenser. The words with μ.ε of$^{(c)}$ are rimed only *inter se*, ex-

cept in the case *gotten* : *soften* : *often* 229 b (§ 131), which requires a short vowel. — The solitary rime | th (90 a; § 128) cannot prove anything as to the pronunciation of μɛ ŏth; especially as there seem to have existed early Mod. E. forms with short vowel of *both, lo(a)th, troth* (Horn Gr. §§ 94, 96, 140.) — The rimes | st are more conclusive. *post* < OE, and *post* = ME loan from the Rom. languages, have [ŏ] in Chaucer, according to ten Br. §§ 13, 81; so that these words may have μɛ ǭ ~ μɛ ŏst in early Mod. E. But in the other words with present E. ou |st there is no reason to suspect a variant with μɛ ŏst. The 16th and 17th c. orthoepists give only μɛ ǭ; Mason's spelling *-o-* (= μɛ ŏ) in *host, hostess* is considered by Brotanek p. XXXII as a misprint for *-ó-* (= μɛ ǭ), and Miège's »məst» (Sweet HES p. 342) seems to be meant as a weak form (»in compounds of *most*», Ellis p. 102). — Certain cases of μɛ ŏ : μɛ ǭ being scarce in Spenser (cf. § 129), the numerous rimes μɛ ŏst : μɛ ǭst require a special explanation. Traditional influence does not seem to be admissible, as these rimes are not used by Chaucer (no such rimes are recorded by ten Br.; nor, from the Ellesmere MS, by Cromie — always excepting rimes *post* : [ŏ]); thus lengthening of the vowel |st is the most plausible conclusion, though such lengthening is not expressly stated until Cooper (yet there are earlier signs af this lengthening in the London vulgar language, cf. Horn Gr. § 59). — *engross* may have had [ŏ] ~ [ǭ] in ME (cf. the spellings *gross* ~ *groos, groce*, etc. from the 15th c. : NED) and still in Spenser's time, so that the rimes to μɛ ŏɜ may be correct. The orthoepists give no information until Jones' μɛ ǭ.

298 Pope has the rimes *engross* : μɛ ŏɜ (3 cases), μɛ ǭst : μɛ ŏɜst (numerous) [for the irrelevant *oath* : *wroth*, cf. § 128]. Apart from the possibility of a (spelling-?) pronunciation with μɛ ŏɜ in *engross* (cf. Bch »engrɔs», Ellis p. 1076), the rimes are certainly chiefly traditional, either = [o̤] : »wide» [ɔɔ] (cf. § 287), in accordance with e. g. Cooper (*frost* etc. Ellis p. 1008), Jones (Ekw. § 284), Kenrick (*cloth, oft, cost*, etc. = vowel 5, = in *call, caul*, etc.; p. V), or = [o̤] : [ɔ] (cf. the numerous rimes μɛ ŏ : μɛ ǭ, ou), as the lengthening of ME ŏ |th, f, s, was certainly not universally accepted in Pope's time [cf. Walker (Princ. 170), who still declares that »this length of *o*, in this situation, seems every day growing more and more vulgar».]

299 Byron has the following rimes of interest (irrelevant or uncertain cases, see § 128).

μɛ ŏf : *coffin* 790 b. *off, cough* : *enough, rough, tough* (3 cases);

+ : *of* (§ 208; 2 cases). *Koklophti* : *scoff'd high* : *Mufti* 732 a. *off*: *aloof* : *enough* 817 b. μɛ ŏs : μɛ ǫ̆ (3 cases). μɛ ŏs : μɛ ǭ (6 cases); μɛ ŏst : μɛ ǭ (numerous); μɛ ŏth : μɛ ǭ & μɛ ou (4 cases).

These rimes may very well be explained by an unlengthened μɛ ŏ, in accordance with W.'s o[4]; and this pronunciation seems to be indicated by the rimes containing μɛ ŭ and μɛ ŏ. In this case the rimes would be equivalent to the corresponding rimes with μɛ ŏ (cf. § 316), and the great number of the rimes |st— if a special reason is wanted — would be accounted for by tradition being particularly in support of these rimes (cf. Pope). — On the other hand there seem to be special Sc. E. peculiarities to account for the numerous rimes μɛ ŏst : μɛ ǭst. These might either be due to a general mixing (more or less in accordance with Sc. dialectal pronunciation) of the Standard E. vowel distinctions on this point : cf. Bch's (Ellis) »ɔ» = μɛ ŏ in *engross, host, lost, most, post*; *off* ⟩⟨ »A» (= μɛ wă) in *cost, frost, loath* ⟩⟨ »oo» (=μɛ ǭ) in *ghost, loathe*; or else be correct rimes μɛ ǭ : μɛ ǭ according to Bell's general observation (see above § 26) with, among others, the example »*cost* . . pronounced . . coast . . .». How far either of these explanations should be applied to Byron's rimes it is impossible to decide.

SWINBURNE. Rimes. Irrelevant or uncertain cases, see § 128. 300
μɛ ŏf : μɛ ŏ (1 case, § 131).

The total absence of rimes μɛ ǭ : ME ŏ before lengthening consonants (⟩⟨ several rimes μɛ ŏ : μɛ ǭ, § 130) in spite of the strong traditional authority especially for the rimes of this kind | st, may be considered as a proof that Swinburne has the present Southern E. lengthened vowel (ɔɔ).

i. broad, abroad; groat. 301

broad, abroad (Cf. Luick U. § 90).

SPENSER'S rimes *broad, abroad* : μɛ ǭ (15 cases) are quite regular and in accordance with the contemporary orthoepists; then there are the rimes *mode* (= mood) : *abrode* : *rode* pret. : *brode* 247 b; *broode* : *abrode* : *abode* : *lode* s. 288 a, of which at least the last is a rime μɛ ǭ : μɛ ǭ, cf. § 193). —The exceptional *abroad* : *fraud* 460 b is difficult to judge of. Of course it may be an incorrect rime μɛ ǭ : μɛ au; but as there are no certain rimes of this kind (see § 271) it is hard to deny the possibility of *abroad* here having the open vowel given already by Hodges 1644 (Ekw. § 294) and then by Cooper etc. (cf. Luick l. c.) If this is so, Gill's transcription »abrâd»

in the edition of 1619 (»abröd» in the edition of 1621) might be something more than an interesting misprint, cf. Jiriczek p. LV.

POPE rimes *abroad* : μɛ ǭ (2 cases); : μɛ au (2 cases); : μɛ ŏ (1 case). The open vowel given by the orthoepists of the time is necessarily implied by the rimes to μɛ au ⟩ no rimes μɛ ǭ : μɛ au. The rimes to μɛ ǭ may of course be traditional, as such rimes are common in Dryden (Dierb. § 48) and other 17th c. poets (Mead p. 114); otherwise they might be due to the regular μɛ ǭ in *(a)broad*, which seems to be known still by Jones (Ekw. § 294).

BYRON rimes *broad, abroad* : μɛ ǭ (4 cases); : μɛ ŏ (4 cases); : μɛ ǭ, ou + μɛ ŏ (2 cases); *broad* : *fraud* 684 a. — It is obvious that Byron distinguished the vowel in *(a)broad* from his μɛ au; a distinction no doubt due to Sc. E. influence (cf. § 26). The scarcity of the rimes to μɛ ǭ (& ou) would, however, seem to imply that he did not use this vowel either in *(a)broad*. In fact, he may very well have used a vowel standing between his μɛ ǭ and his μɛ au (= in μɛ-ought, § 277); cf. Bell's distinction for St. E., above p. 17, foot-note. — Bch gives *broad* with »oo» but *abroad* with »AA» (Ellis).

SWINBURNE'S rimes are in accordance with the present E. pronunciation.

302 groat (Cf. Luick U § 90).

SPENSER : no rimes.

POPE rimes *groat* : *thought* (3 cases); : *fault* (1 case); : *oats* (1 case); : *sot* (1 case). The first rimes prove the open vowel in *groat*, given by Cooper, Jones, etc.; the rime to *oats* may be due to the old μɛ ǭ in *groat*, given by Price (Ellis).

BYRON'S and SWINBURNE'S rimes to present E. ɔɔ and ou I have not recorded; other rimes do not occur.

303 **Present E. ou.**

The rimes are conclusive as regards the relations between μɛ ǭ and μɛ ou (as μɛ ou I have considered also ME ōl^{c} & ŏl$^{(c)}$); but they prove nothing as to the quality of μɛ ǭ and the monophthongated μɛ ou. Nor could they be expected to do so. Apart from the 19th c. diphthongation, the change of μɛ ǭ in the Mod. E. period is limited to a »closing» of the vowel from »low back» to »mid back», while the contemporaneous changes of the adjacent vowels with which it is rimed are either greater or more

difficult to define; so that the rimes of ɹɛ ǭ (and ɹɛ ou) : other vowels are of interest mainly for the quality of these latter.

SPENSER. ME ŏ|final *l* in Rom. words (in this position *l* 304
did not vocalize) has gone with the corresponding Teut. vowel to early Mod. E. [ǭul]. This pronunciation is indicated in *mould, roll, enroll, control* (for *extol* cf. § 129) by Spenser's rimes (§§ 73, 147). — The rimes ɹɛ ǭ : ɹɛ ou (§§ 73, 74; equivalent cases §§ 129, 207) are strictly in accordance with the statements of contemporary orthoepists (cf. Ekw. § 304). Thus, the rimes between final ɹɛ ǭ & ɹɛ ou are far more numerous than before consonants (it should be noted, however, that this is the case, though not so conspicuously, also in Byron and Swinburne (cf. § 76) where it must be due to mere technical conditions); further there is only one certain rime (*rolls* : *scrolls* : *holes* 131 a) ɹɛ ǭ : ME ōlᶜ, ŏlᶜ, where monophthongic pronunciation is only occasionally mentioned (cf. e. g. Gill) until Wallis, except where *l* was dropped (cf. Spenser's rime *folk* : *cloak* 449 b : Gill »fók»).

Other rimes of interest (irrelevant or uncertain cases, see §§ 41, 128, 129, 137, 141, 155, 184, 192, 207).

ɹɛ ǭ : ɹɛ au (no certain cases; for *roade* pret. : *baude* s. 233 a, cf. § 271). ɹɛ ǭ : (*a*)*broad* (numerous; equivalent probably *mode* : *abrode* : *rode* : *brode* 247 b, cf. § 193); + : *brood* 288 a. ɹɛ ǭ : ɹɛ ŏs(t), ŏth (numerous; cf. § 297). ɹɛ ǭ : ɹɛ ōrt (2 cases). ɹɛ ǭ : ɹɛ ŏ (few certain cases, cf. § 129; equivalent are the rimes *one* : ɹɛ ŏ, cf. § 332). ɹɛ ǭ : ɹɛ ǭ [see § 320; equivalent are the rimes to *look, took, shook* (cf. § 325) and probably to *love(r), above* (cf. § 334), *recover* (cf. § 205), *come* (1 case? cf. § 334); further the rimes *shone* pret. : *Moone* 537 a (§ 136) and *couch* : ɹɛ ǭ (cf. § 147)]. *flood* : *God* : *abode* 286 b (cf. § 333). *won* s. : *-upon* : *done* pp. : *alone* 338 b (cf. § 333).

ɹɛ ou : ɹɛ au (only *saw* : *overthrow* : *below* : *throw* v. 302 a). ɹɛ ou : ɹɛ ū (5 cases, § 147; for equivalent cases cf. § 328). ɹɛ ou : *world* (2 cases, § 163; cf. *world* : *extold* 70 b, § 163).

The rimes ɹɛ ou : ɹɛ ū ⟩ no (certain) rimes ɹɛ ǭ : ɹɛ ū speak for diphthongic pronunciation of ɹɛ ou (as well as of ɹɛ ū); in the same direction points also the absence of rimes ɹɛ ou : ɹɛ ŏ (⟩ Pope).

POPE rimes ɹɛ ǭ and ɹɛ ou unhesitatingly together in all po- 305
sitions (cf. § 75), judging from the rimes of CH and SBS (§ 76) to about the same extent as Byron and Swinburne. — Other rimes of interest (irrelevant or uncertain cases, see §§ 128, 129, 137, 147):

μɛ ǭ : *abroad* (2 cases). μɛ ǭ : *groat* (1 case). μɛ ǭ : μɛ ŏs(t) (,ŏth, 1 case) (numerous). μɛ ǭ : μɛ ŏ (incl. *gone*) (numerous). μɛ ǭ : μɛ ọ̄ (7 cases). *broke, spoke* pret. : *look, strook* pret. (5 cases). μɛ ǭ : μɛ ū (5 cases). μɛ ǭ : μɛ ŭ (numerous, incl. the rimes to *love* etc.; for the rimes to *one, none*, cf. § 336). — μɛ ou : μɛ ŏ (incl. *gone*) (6 cases). *billet-doux* pl. : *rows* s. 74. μɛ ou : μɛ ū (numerous). μɛ ou : *son, won* (3 cases) [for the rimes to *one, none*, cf. § 336].

According to contemporary orthoepists μɛ ǭ and μɛ ou are both = [ọ̄] in Pope's time. The number of rimes μɛ ou : μɛ ū compared to the rimes μɛ ǭ : μɛ ū does not prove that Pope knew the old diphthongic pronunciation of μɛ ou, still given by Cooper (~ [ọ̄]); because about the same distribution of the rimes present E. ou : au is found also in Byron, where it is certainly due to other than phonetic causes (cf. § 330).

306 Byron has the following rimes of interest (irrelevant or uncertain cases, see §§ 128, 130, 137, 141, 148, 155):

μɛ ǭ : μɛ au (4 cases); μɛ ǭ : *-aught* + *-ought* (1 case). μɛ ǭ : *-ought* (12 cases). *boat* : *thought* : *lot* 657 b. μɛ ǭ : (*a*)*broad* (4 cases); *road* : *broad* : *God* 773 a. μɛ ǭ : μɛ ŏs(t), ŏth (numerous). μɛ ǭ : μɛ ŏ (numerous). μɛ ǭ : μɛ ọ̄ (rather numerous; equivalent are *shone* : μɛ ǭ : μɛ ọ̄ (2 cases) § 192); + : μɛ ŏ (2 cases). μɛ ǭ : present E. u (4 cases); + : μɛ ŏ (3 cases). μɛ ǭ : μɛ ū (+ : μɛ ou) (11 cases). μɛ ǭ : μɛ ŭ (numerous); + : μɛ ọ̄ (7 cases). μɛ ǭ : μɛ ŭ : μɛ ŏ (9 cases).

stow'd : *abroad* : *God* 716 a. *both* : *growth* : *broth* 664 a. μɛ ou (+ μɛ ǭ) : μɛ ŏ (7 cases). μɛ ou (+ μɛ ǭ) : μɛ ọ̄ (11 cases). *mooring* : *lowering* 56 b. *woman* : *Knowman* : *common* 820 a. μɛ ou : μɛ ū (numerous, §§ 148, 150); + : μɛ ŏ (1 case). μɛ ou : μɛ ŭ (7 cases); *gone* : *shown* : *one* 164 b; *none* : *town* : *own* 836 b.

The rimes evidently prove nothing as to the quality of μɛ ǭ & ou; they are further discussed with the other rime-vowels contained. — For general reasons (cf. § 22 ff.) it seems very probable that Byron used the usual Sc. E. pronunciation of μɛ ǭ & ou (cf. § 23). — Bch has »ɔu» (Ellis) (= μɛ ū) in e. g. *cold, old* (cf. W. p. X »cowld» (cold); »bowld» (bold) = »Irish»), and Bell Pr. of El. p. 36 gives another diphthong in these words as a Scotticism; but Byron has no rimes that indicate a peculiar pronunciation in these words. His rimes *soul* : μɛ ū might be thought to indicate the pronunciation with μɛ ū, given by Bell in »bowl, soul, mould, etc.» as a Scotticism (cf. § 27); but as these rimes are not

particularly numerous they should no doubt be considered as equivalent to Byron's other rimes present E. au : ou (cf. § 330).

SWINBURNE has the following rimes of interest (irrelevant 307
or uncertain cases, see §§ 128, 130, 155):

μɛ ǭ & μɛ ou : μɛ ŏth (1 case). : μɛ ŏ (13 cases). : μɛ ǭ (4 cases). : μɛ ū (6 cases); + : μɛ ǭ (1 case). : μɛ ŭ (numerous); + : μɛ ǭ (1 case); + : μe ŏ (1 case). : μɛ ŭ + : μɛ ŏ (4 cases).

Cf. the other rime-vowels contained, along with which these rimes are treated.

Present E. ɔ. 308

a. μɛ wă (incl. quă) [For *was* cf. § 310].

Daines 1640 (Horn Gr. § 49) is the first orthoepist that mentions an influence of *w* on the following *a;* after him comes Cooper who in his grammar (p. 13) identifies the vowel in *was, watch* with his »o gutturalis»; further Miège, EO, etc. On the other hand no *w*-influence is mentioned by Jones (Ekw. § 101); and [ă̈] is kept e. g. by Ludwig 1705, 1717 (Löwisch p. 40). Walker still mentions, disapprovingly, a pronunciation with a^4 in *quality* and *quantity;* Kenrick gives a^{11} (= [ă̈]) in these and some other words : *squab, squabble* (both ~ [ɔ]), *squash, squat, wan* (~ [ɔ]), *wasp, wast* 2 sg.; and Sheridan gives [ă̈] (Ellis) in *wan, wasp* (criticized by Walker) and in some words with *-qua-*. Buchanan has [ă̈] (Ellis) in many words, e. g. *quality, quantity, quarrel, squabble, wan, wand;* in the rest he gives »AA» (Ellis), e. g. *watch, was, want, squander.* The absence of [ŏ]-forms of these words in Buchanan's notation is no doubt due to a mistake on Buchanan's part; yet the existence of an (occasional) 18th c. long vowel is proved by Kenrick's o^5 (= μɛ au) in *quantity* (~ [ă̈]), *quarrel, squander, wad, waddle,* where Walker and the present E. have short vowel.

SPENSER knows nothing of a *w*-influence. In his rimes (§§ 309
132, 133) μɛ wă is rimed only : μɛ ă (and : μɛ ā), while there are no rimes μe wă : μɛ ŏ)(several rimes μɛ ă : μɛ ŏ. Cf. μɛ wăr(c) § 278.

POPE'S *what* : *not* 340 [and *was* : *draws* 2 cases] prove an [ŏ]-vowel in μɛ wă, especially as he has no rimes μɛ ă : μɛ ŏ [or : μɛ au]. But the rimes to μɛ ă (§ 133, 8 cases; equivalent is the rime *wanted* : *planted* 257, cf. § 280) may be considered to contain the old pronunciation [ă̈] (= μɛ ă) of μɛ wă [as also the rimes *was* : *pass* 257, cf. § 310].

Byron. Rimes [for *quarrel* : *laurel* cf. § 133; for rimes to *was*, § 310]. ɹɛ wă : ɹɛ ŏ (5 cases). ɹɛ wă : *haunt, vaunt* : *grant, pant* (2 cases; § 186). *want* : *cant* s. : *vaunt* 627 a. ɹɛ wă : ɹɛ au (1 case). ɹɛ wă : *laurel* : ɹɛ ă ɕ 10 a (§ 133). ɹɛ wă : present E. aa|n^{c} (6 cases); + : ɹɛ ă (2 cases, § 189). ɹɛ wă : ɹɛ ă (numerous). *Suwarrow* : *to-morrow* : *harrow* 737 a. *squabble* : *rabble* : *able* 697 a. *warriors* : *fox-terriers* 732 b. — The scarcity of the rimes to ɹɛ ŏ fully proves that Byron distinguished ɹɛ wă) ɹɛ ŏ (cf. further § 316); a very natural fact, as such a distinction is made for the present E. (cf. § 26) by Bell, Ellis, and Murray (in NED). But the rimes cannot be considered to prove, conclusively, that Byron identified ɹɛ wă and ɹɛ ă (under the Sc. E. [ă]-vowel, cf. § 25 f.) : the rimes to present E. æ, though very numerous, and those to present E. aa, might be purely traditional — some might besides be based on the [æ̆]-variants evidenced in many words in the 18th c. (cf. § 308)— and the two rimes to ɹɛ ā (+ : ɹɛ ă) and to ɹɛ ĕ are counterbalanced by the rime ɹɛ ŏ : ɹɛ ā : ɹɛ ă 791 a (cf. § 266). — On the other hand the rimes are certainly not against the identification mentioned : the rimes ɹɛ wă : ɹɛ ŏ, which alone could make difficulties, are counterbalanced by the rimes ɹɛ ă : ɹɛ ŏ (cf. § 266); and the all but total absence of rimes ɹɛ wă : ɹɛ ā (only + : ɹɛ ă, 697 a; further *was* : ɹɛ ā 335 a, cf. § 310) proves no more than in Spenser, where only *was* occurs in rimes present E. ɔ : ei.

Swinburne's rimes ɹɛ wă : present E. æ (§ 133) and : present E. aa (§ 132) may be considered as purely traditional. — With regard to his rimes ɹɛ wă : ɹɛ ŏ (§ 77) it should be noted that they are on the whole limited to special words or sound-combinations to which riming words are scarce; this may be a sign that he knows the distinction made by Bell, Ellis, and Murray, between ɹɛ wă and ɹɛ ŏ. — As to the possibility of restrictive traditional influence cf. § 20.

310 was.

Spenser. Rimes. *was* : *has* (3 cases). *was* : *has* : ɹɛ ăs (18 cases). *was* : ɹɛ ăs (88 cases). *was* : ɹɛ ăs : ɹɛ ā (2 cases). *was* : ɹɛ ā (4 cases). — No influence of *w* on the following *a* being visible in Spenser's language (cf. § 309), *was* is quite on a level with *has*; i. e. the form occurring in the rimes is a strong form v̆l + c̄s, cf. § 268. In the face of the great number of rimes to ɹɛ ăs, the four rimes to ɹɛ ā cannot prove a strong form v̄l + c̆s, especially as, though this strong form ought to have voiced -*s* (cf. Gill »waz» ~ »was») no rimes to ɹɛ ā + voiced -*s* occur (cf. B. § 207, who

gives another explanation of this last fact). — The frequent use of *was* as a rime may explain the number of rimes *was* : μɛ ā) hardly any other rimes μɛ (w)ăs : μɛ ā.

POPE'S rimes — *was* : *draws* (2 cases); *was* : *pass* 257 — illustrate his two pronunciations of μɛ wă (cf. § 309). The *-s* in *was* is probably voiced in both cases; if Pope had known the old strong form with breathed *-s* (which would have had the power of lengthening the preceding vowel), rimes of the type *was* : *pass* would certainly have been more numerous.

BYRON. Rimes. *was* : *as, has* (2 cases). *was* : *as, has* : μɛ ăs (3 cases). *was* (*t*) : μɛ ăs$^{(c)}$ (32 cases). *was* : *blaze* 335 a. *as* : *was* : *cause* 784 b. *was* : *pass* : *cause* 370 b. *was* : *bass* : *maws* 654 a (cf. § 188). *was* : (*be*)*cause, laws* (2 cases). — Byron no doubt pronounced the vowel in *was* = in ME wă- generally, so that his rimes to *was* are to be judged as his rimes to μɛ wă (§ 309); Kenrick's distinction *wast* (a^{11} = [æ̆])) *was* (a^{7} = [ɔ]) does not appear in Byron's rimes. — The *-s* in *was* was certainly voiced in Byron's pronunciation (: the variant with breathed *-s* is not mentioned later than Gill; the (Southern) Sc. dialects have voiced *-s*, Murray p. 126); the rimes to μɛ ăs prove nothing, because breathed *-s* and voiced *-s* are often joined in Byron's rimes.

SWINBURNE. Rimes. *was* (*t*) : μɛ ăs(t) (23 cases). *chrysopras* : *was* : *cause* (1 case). — The rimes to μɛ ăs(t) afford a remarkable instance of traditional influence.

b. μɛ ŏ. 311

[Cf. Grundr. § 102; Ellis p. 93 ff.; Sweet HES § 802 ff.; Luick, Anglia 16, 469 f.; Viëtor El. § 45, Anm. 8; Horn, U. p. 26 ff., & Gr. § 55 f.].

The E. orthoepists of the 16th c. and the first decades of the 17th c. (e. g. Gill) generally give μɛ ŏ as an open [ŏ]-vowel, the short of μɛ ō. But there are also unmistakable signs of a 16th c. change of μɛ ŏ > [ă]; a dialectal development according to Horn U. l. c. These signs consist in: 1) numerous *a-* spellings for ME ŏ (cf. e. g. Diehl p. 22; Horn U. p. 28; Bernigau p. 31); 2) present E. æ < ME ŏ in some words (Horn Gr. § 56) whose present E. vowel is plausibly explained only as springing from an early [ă] (i. e. before μɛ ă had definitively become an [æ̆]-vowel). [(3) Spenser's rimes μɛ ŏ : μɛ ă (I have not found such rimes recorded from any other 16th c. poet), one of which is mentioned by Horn, U. p. 28, in this connection, do not necessarily imply the pronunciation [ă]

of μɛ ŏ (cf. § 314); and also (4) Bellot's (1580) comparison (cf. Horn U. l. c.) of μɛ ŏ with F. *a*, which comparison does not amount to complete identification of the two vowels (: »*O* se prononce quasy comme le *A* en françois»), is easily explicable with a very open [ŏ]-pronunciation of μɛ ŏ (= 17th & 18th c., cf. below).]

312 By the middle of the 17th c. μɛ ŏ had generally passed to a very open sound, as is evidenced by e. g. Wallis and Cooper giving it as the short of μɛ au, and by English and foreign orthoepists universally comparing (or identifying) it, up to the beginning of the 19th c., with the short *a* in their own languages. The sound meant is probably the present E. ɔ (= Sweet, Luick; Ellis : = the vowel in present E. *what*), possibly somewhat more open still, cf. μɛ au (§ 269); but not an unrounded vowel [ă] (as assumed by Viëtor l. c.). It is true that many orthoepists from Wallis downwards exactly identify μɛ ŏ with foreign *a* short, but this may very well be due to imperfect knowledge of either sound; the short *o* in other languages was not compared to μɛ ŏ, partly because there was a marked difference of quality, but mainly because it was generally identified with μɛ ŭ. — Moreover, many orthoepists do not completely identify μɛ ŏ and foreign *a*. Lediard (Ellis p. 1043) describes the Engish sound as »a short quick German *a* . . . pronounced from the throat»; Miège (Ellis p. 102) states that »il y a bien des mots ou l'*o* a un son mêlé de celui de l'*a*»; Sewel 1708 (Löwisch p. 39) that it is »eenigsins gemengd, byna als of'er een A onder gehoord wierd»; Ludwig (Löwisch p. 39) that it is »ein kurtzes dunckles a vom gaumen heraus pronuncirt». — The fact that from the beginning of the 19th c., foreign grammarians generally give their short *o*, not their short *a*, as identical with μɛ ŏ, may denote a slight »closing» of the English sound. Yet the main reason is certainly this, that from the 19th c. down, μɛ ŭ has been compared to German *ö*, F. *eu*, etc., no longer to German, F., etc. short *o;* which latter could now be used, without risk of confusion, as a parallel to μɛ ŏ.

313 The above refers to the standard pronunciation, as it appears in the orthoepists of the second half of the 17th and the whole of the 18th c. On the other hand, there certainly existed at the same time a not accepted, unrounded pronunciation of μɛ ŏ, evidenced by the »foppish» forms »passible», »bax», »clack», etc. in Vanbrugh's Relapse (1697) — cf. the forms »rat», »lard», »stap», »Gad», quoted by Ellis p. 1067 from Sheridan's

»refashionment» of this work (1777) — and by the »vulgar» pronunciation stated by Bryant 1767 (»*a* < *o* vor *r*» : Horn U. p. 29 f.); possibly also from the American »aff», »saft», »drap», »crap», given as »foreign and local dialect» by Webster (Ellis p. 1066). If these forms stand for a vowel [ǽ], they should be judged as the words with present E. æ < ME ŏ; i. e. originating in early [ă]-forms (cf. § 311). But very probably they mean an unrounded »back» vowel (whose difference from the usual [ɔ]-sound could hardly be shown in spelling in any other way); cf. the present dialectal E. & American E. [ă] < ME ŏ (Horn U. p. 28 f.). — The German late loanwords *baxen, Frack* (cf. Horn Gr. § 55) may be due to this pronunciation, or to substitution.

SPENSER. Rimes. Irrelevant or uncertain cases, treated 314
above, see §§ 42, 43 (present E. ɔ : æ | nd), 48 (present E. ɐ : ɔ | ng), 129, 131, 135, 136, 154, 192, 207.

με ŏ : με ō (few certain cases, cf. § 129; equivalent is *one* : με ŏ, cf. §§ 154, 332). με ŏ : *brought* 229 b (for με ŏ : *soften* & *often*, see § 297). με ŏ : με ă (6 cases). *overcommen* (= -come) : *commen* inf. 338 a (for equivalent cases, cf. § 339). *flood* : *God* : *abode* 286 b; *won* s. : *upon* : *done* pp. : *alone* 338 b.

It seems likely that in the rimes to με ă — to which are probably equivalent, in Spenser's pronunciation, the rimes *glorie* : *varie* 538 a (§ 124), and the rimes με (w)ăr^{c} : με ŏr^{c} (4 cases, § 122; for the uncertain *wormes* : *armes* 530 b, *gather* : *other* 514 a, cf. §§ 169, 333 respectively) — Spenser had in view a very open [ŏ]-vowel (= the 17th & 18th c. με ŏ) or even the dialectal [ă] (cf. § 311) in the με ŏ-words. — Of the other rimes, the solitary cases με ŏ : με ŭ and με ŏ : *flood* & *abode* show nothing whatever as to Spenser's pronunciation of με ŏ; the rime με ŏ : *brought* is of little more use, especially as Spenser's pronunciation of με-ought is doubtful (cf. § 275). The rimes με ŏ : με ō are of more interest, but they are too few to be conclusive; nor does their scarcity prove a difference in quality between Spenser's με ŏ and με ō, because rimes v̆l : v̄l are also scarce in Spenser.

POPE. Irrelevant or uncertain rimes, see §§ 129, 136, 154. 315

The rimes με ŏ : με ō are evidently, as appears from their number, traditionally kept as rimes v̆l : v̄l, though a close με ŏ and an open με ō are equally improbable in Pope's time. The rimes με ŏ : με ou (§ 129) are also traditional (used e. g. by Dryden, cf. Dierb. § 74), or quasi-traditional (on account of με ou being = με ō in Pope's pronunciation). Tradition is further

partly the cause of the rimes (§ 154) to present E. ɐ and (§ 140) to present E. u (which two vowels were rather similar in quality about 1700; cf. § 326, POPE) : they are rare in Spenser, but more frequently used by 17th c. poets (e. g. Dryden, cf. Dierb. § 74). At any rate, these rimes are of little value for determining the quality of Pope's ɹɛ ŏ. — The remaining rimes, *not* : *what* 340, *god* : *unaw'd* 399, *grot* : *thought* 487, may be considered as signs of the very open pronunciation of ɹɛ ŏ given by contemporary orthoepists (cf. § 312). — For the rimes *abroad* : *rod* 275, *Sot* a. : *groat* 317, see §§ 301, 302.

316 BYRON. Rimes. Irrelevant or uncertain cases, treated above, see §§ 130, 140, 154.

Byron rimes ɹɛ ŏ — besides with itself — with the following vowels. ɹɛ ŏ : ɹɛ wă (5 cases, § 77; further in *Suwarrow* : *tomorrow* : *harrow* 737 a); —: *laurel* (648 b, cf. § 133); — : ɹɛ ǭ (numerous, § 130; + many rimes to ɹɛ ǭ + : other vowels, see below), — : ɹɛ ou (+ : ɹɛ ǭ) (7 cases, § 130; further *stow'd* : *abroad* : *odd* 716 a; *woman* : *Knowman* : *common* 820 a; *gone* : *own* : *alone* : *grown* : *down* 103 b; *gone* : *shown* : *one* 164 b); — : ɹɛ ǭr (2 cases, § 131; and *before all* : *moral* : *her all* 631 a); — : ɹɛ ŏĭ, ŏs (4 cases, § 131; further in *Koklophti* : *scoff'd high* : *Mufti* 732 a, *of* : *scoff* : *rough* 365 a, 730 b); — : (*a*)*broad* (4 cases, § 131; further 716 a, see above, and *road* : *broad* : *god* 773 a); — : ɹɛ ought (3 cases, § 131; and *boat* : *thought* : *lot* 657 b); — : ɹɛ au (2 cases, § 131; and *dollars* : *colours* : *bawlers* 699 a); — : ɹɛ ă (2 cases, § 133; further in 737 a, see above; *same ages* : *damages* : *homages* 791 a; *upon* : *one* : *man* 696 a); — : present E. aa (only in *bronze* : *once* : *glance* 618 b); — : ɹɛ ā (only in 791 a, see above); — : ɹɛ ǭ (viz. *tomb, wounds*, 2 cases, § 136; further in *from* : *room* : *home* 773 b; *Gothic* : *so thick* : *through thick* 833 b; *mood* : *stood* : *god* 241 a; *woman* : *two men* : *common* 617 b; *of* : *move* : *love* 238 a; *nominal* : *overcoming all* : *entombing all* 697 b); — : present E. u (viz. *good, brook*, 2 cases, *woman*, 4 cases, § 140; further in 241 a, 617 b, see above; *woman* : *common* : *Roman, no man* 635 a, 637 a, 718 b; *everybody* : *should I* : *muddy* 825 b; *uncommon* : *summon* : *woman* 809 a; *put* : *not* : *but* 653 a); — : ɹɛ ū (viz. *owlish* 101 b, cf. *blonde* F. & *monde* F. : *ground* 809 b; further in 103 b, see above; *on* : *down* : *undone* 732 b); — : ɹɛ ŭ (incl. (*n*)*one, done*, etc., numerous, § 154; further in ɹɛ ŏ : ɹɛ ŭ : ɹɛ ǭ, 9 cases, § 207; and in the rimes 164 b, 365 a & 730 b, 699 a, 696 a, 618 b, 238 a, 697 b, 825 b, 809 a, 653 a, 732 b, see above); — : pre-

sent E. əə (only in *before all* : *moral* : *her all*, see above); — : ɹɛ oi (only *paternosters* : *cloisters* s. : *fosters* 377 b).

The rimes tell us very little about the quality of Byron's ɹɛ ŏ. The scarcity of rimes ɹɛ ŏ : ɹɛ wă — cf. the scarcity of rimes ɹɛ ŏ : ɹɛ au (the rimes ɹɛ̄ ŏ : ɹɛ-ought, : ɹɛ o̤r, : ɹɛ ŏf, and : (*a*)*broad* do not count, cf. §§ 277, 294, 299, 301) — certainly proves that Byron distinguished ɹɛ ŏ) ɹɛ wă, but this distinction may be exclusively due to his using a special pronunciation of ɹɛ wă (cf. § 309). Again, in the case of the rimes ɹɛ ŏ : ɹɛ ŭ — which are strikingly numerous even excepting eminently traditional cases like *among*, *tongue*, etc. : *long*, *song*, etc. — the numerousness of these rimes need not be due to a pronunciation of ɹɛ ŏ = ɹɛ ŭ (cf. § 26), but may be the result — besides of tradition — of Byron's using the Sc. (E.) open pronunciation of ɹɛ ŭ (cf. §§ 27, 342). — Thus, there is the question, regarding Byron's pronunciation of ɹɛ ŏ, only of a comparatively small distinction (: Sc. E. »Mid back wide round») St. E. »Low back wide round»), as to which Byron's curiously heterogeneous rimes to ɹɛ ŏ allow no conclusions. — For further discussion of the rimes — as far as they are not to be regarded as mere individual licences — cf. the other rime-vowels concerned.

SWINBURNE. Rimes. Irrelevant or uncertain cases, treat- 317
ed above, see § 130.

ɹɛ ŏ : ɹɛ wă (numerous). *laurel* : *sorrel* PB II:71 (cf. § 133). ɹɛ ŏ : ɹɛ o̤ (11 cases). ɹɛ ŏ : ɹɛ ou (+ : ɹɛ o̤) (2 cases). ɹɛ ŏ : ɹɛ ŏf (1 case). ɹɛ ŏ : ɹɛ-ought (7 cases). ɹɛ ŏ : ɹɛ-aught (+ : ɹɛ -ought) (1 case). *sundawn* : *thereon* PB I:135. ɹɛ ŏ : ɹɛ o̤ (1 case). *blossom* : *bosom* (11 cases, cf. § 140); + : *lose him* PB I: 172. ɹɛ ŏ : *renown* PB II:206. ɹɛ ŏ : ɹɛ ŭ (incl. (*n*)*one*, *done*, etc.) (numerous, especially *love* etc. : *of*). *blood* : *rod* : *God* : *food* SN 62. *love* etc. : *move*, *prove* : *of* (7 cases). *love* etc. : *strove* pret. : *thereof* : *move* SBS 26. ɹɛ ŏ : ɹɛ ŭ : ɹɛ o̤ (4 cases).

The rimes ɹɛ ŏ : present E. ɔɔ are no doubt qualitatively correct in Swinburne's pronunciation; the rimes ɹɛ ŏ̤ : present E. ou prove nothing, being purely traditional. — For the rimes ɹɛ ŏ : ɹɛ ŭ, cf. § 343. — The rimes to present E. u and uw, and those containing more than two different rime-vowels, are no doubt mainly traditional and emergency rimes. *renown* : ɹɛ ŏ occurs in a translation of Villon and, consequently, does not count, cf. §1.— For the rimes to ɹɛ wă cf. § 309.

318 **Present E. uw, uə.**

SPENSER. I. ME ę̄u, ę̣u, ū̄ [comprehensive notation : (μɛ) ew].

Besides the rimes ME ę̄u : ę̣u : ū̄ *inter se* and ME ę̣u, ū̄ : *you* etc. (for which see §§ 44, 78, 79) there are the following rimes of interest (irrelevant or uncertain cases, see §§ 44, 80, 137):

μɛ ū̄|r : *flower, lower, tower* (3 cases; § 143). *covet : renew it* 549 b (probably = μɛ ǫ̣ : μɛ ew, cf. § 153). *use : abuse : bruse* (= bruise) : *loose* v. 395 b.

B. § 168 concludes from the rimes of FQ and their spelling that in Spenser's pronunciation ME ę̄u was a diphthong [eu], falling or even-stressed, not rising; ME ę̣u and ME ū̄ both, at least occasionally, = a diphthong [iu], rising or even-stressed, not falling, and with a vowel- [i], not a [j], as first element, because of the scarcity of rimes to μɛ ǭ (and to μɛ ū). This conclusion holds good also for the rimes of Spenser's other works. It may be added, however, that the first element of ME ę̄u may have been, in Spenser's pronunciation, = [ę̄] or a still more close vowel, so that the rimes ME ę̄u : ME ę̣u & ū̄ need not have been very incorrect [cf. Alphabet Anglois, 1625 : ME ę̄u in *few, dew, ewe* = F. »you», Horn Gr. § 126].

319 II. ME ǭ (and μɛ ǭ < ME ū).

Before -r there are the following rimes of interest (|r^{e} only *loord* s. : *word* 466 b, cf. § 162; for *yours* : μɛ ū cf. §§ 79, 143):

Moor, poor : μɛ ǭr (12 cases). *Paramore* : μɛ ǭr 253 a. *floure* (= floor): *Paramoure* 128 b. *Paramoure* : *succoure* : *floure* (= floor): *poure* v. 133 b. *amour* : μɛ ū (numerous). *Toure* n. pr. : *-amoure* : μɛ ū 159 a. *dore* : *towre* (= tour v.): *devoure* 588 a.

Moor, poor have μɛ ǭ in the rimes to μɛ ǭr, according to § 286 ff. In fact there are no rimes, only some spellings *poor(e)* (cf. § 138), that point to a pronunciation μɛ ǭ in these words; but it was no doubt known to Spenser in these words (as a variant) as well as in *floor, door* (§ 292). — *-amour, tour* v., possibly also *Toure* n. pr. (= Tours), may have a regular μɛ ū in the rimes : μɛ ū. On the other hand, these rimes, and the rime 588 a, might also be interpreted as rimes μɛ ǭ : μɛ ū, equivalent in quality to the rimes *door, floor, ore* : μɛ ū (§§ 150, 292); in this case their great number would be due to tradition (cf. Chaucer, Cromie p. 201 ff.). An [ō] < [ū]|r is probably the vowel in *Paramore* : μɛ ǭr 253 a; but an [ō] in this word might also be due to weak-

stress development (cf. *favour, valour*, etc., B. § 138, Horn Gr. § 151) or to Latin influence (cf. I ib. § 152 and the ME rimes *honoure : sore, before* (2 cases) cited there). [For *succoure*, cf. B. § 138.]

Other rimes of interest (irrelevant or uncertain cases, see 320
§§ 44, 137, 144, 153, 192, 193, 198):

μɛ ǭ : μɛ ew (see § 318). μɛ ǭ : μɛ ū (5 cases, § 144; for equivalent cases cf. § 328). μɛ ǭ : μɛ ǭ (§ 137, 11 cases; equivalent are probably *shone* pret. : *Moone* s. 537 a (cf. § 136); *brood* s. : *abroad* : μɛ ǭ 288 a (cf. § 301); *loved* : *roved* : *proved* 320 a (cf. § 334); *lover* : *over* : *recover* : *move her* 321 b (cf. § 205); for other equivalent cases cf. §§ 304, 334). μɛ ǭ : μɛ ŭ (*groome* s. : *come* : *somme* s. (= sum) 323 a; *soon* : *donne* pp. : *wonne* pp. 321 a; *Moone* s. : *sunne* : *runne* s. 327 a. For the rimes μɛ ǭ : *done* and μɛ ǭ : *above, dove, love; come, some, -some*, see § 333 and § 334 respectively). μɛ ǭ | d & t : *good* etc., *foot* (numerous; § 139); + : *blood, flood* (numerous; § 203); μɛ ǭ | d & t : *blood, flood* (numerous; § 153).

These last rimes of μɛ ǭ|d & t are all best explained as rimes μɛ ǭ : μɛ ǭ; cf. §§ 326, 333. Gill gives μɛ ǭ ~ [ŭ] in *food*, only [ŭ] in *wood* a.; but the pronunciation with [ŭ] does not appear in Spenser's rimes, as there are no rimes *food, wood* a., etc. : ME ŭ ⟩ several rimes *good* etc., *blood, flood* : ME ŭ (cf. §§ 326, 333). — The rimes μɛ ǭ : μɛ ŭ and : μɛ ū may be considered to prove that μɛ ǭ in Spenser's pronunciation had reached the [ū]-stage evidenced by most orthoepists in the 16th c. (cf. Horn Gr. § 101). On the other hand, as Spenser obviously knows the old monophthongic μɛ ū besides the later diphthongic pronunciation (see § 328), he may very well have known the older, more open pronunciation of μɛ ǭ (= a very close [ō]-sound), recorded e. g. by Palsgrave and Bll (Luick, Anglia 14,280 ff.; Horn l. c.); and this pronunciation may be at the bottom of the rimes to μɛ ǭ. Even so, these rimes would, however, be too incorrect phonetically not to require some special explanation. To some extent they are certainly traditional, as such rimes occur in plenty in late ME poets from Chaucer down (cf. ten Br. § 31; Dib. § 119); besides it should be kept in mind that there are very few correct rime-words extant especially to μɛ ǭ final and μɛ ǭ|v, either in ME or in Spenser's time, so that we have to reckon with the possibility of emergency rimes. Yet, as such rimes are not numerous in Spenser, we have to consider the possibility that phonetic variants suiting

the rimes may be at the bottom of the cases given above as με ọ̄ : με ǭ [as well as of corresponding cases in ME]. Thus, an early Mod. E. [ǭ]-form may have existed of *two* (= Chaucer); *go* may have had με ọ̄ (cf. Luick U. §§ 139, 143), possibly also *so, woe* (= Chaucer) [and *home* (cf. Luick U. § 143), *roam* v. (< *Rome*, Skeat Et. D.)].

321 Pope. In Pope's time ME ęu, ẹu, ǖ had all gone to [iū], [jū]; cf. Viëtor El. § 41, Anm. 6 [the disappearing of the [i]-element after *r, l*, is of no importance for the rimes and is here disregarded]. — The equivalence of με ew and με ọ̄ in Pope's pronunciation (as well as in Byron's and Swinburne's) appears from the rimes με ew : με ọ̄ (§ 80) and from the rimes of με ew and με ọ̄ to other vowels (cf. below). — The absence of rimes με ew : με ǭ, ou)(numerous rimes με ọ̄ : με ǭ, ou, is probably not due to phonetic causes, except |*r*, where the rimes point to an occasional »broadening» of με ọ̄ > [ō], a change that need not have included also με ew|r, and *yours* (: *endures* 344; no other rimes in Pope).

Of words with ME ọ̄|r Pope uses as rimes *poor, amour;* further *whore, Moor, Moore* n. pr., which have present E. uə ~ ɔɔ, cf. § 138, foot-note. — *poor* has με ọ̄ in the rimes to *cure, endure, secure, sure* (5 cases); the rimes to *door, floor* (2 cases) and to με ǭr (5 cases) may be taken as rimes [ōr] : [ōr] (= με ǭ : με ǭ, cf. §§ 286, 288) and the rime *poor* : *sour* 291 as a rime [ōr] (= με ǭ) : με ū (cf. § 329). In *Moor* (: *Matadores* 79), *whore* (: *door* 441, : *four* 331, : με ǭr (11 cases), : *abhor* 325), *Moore* n. pr. (: *whore* (3 cases)), the rimes show only με ǭ. *amours* : *doors* 147 may also be a rime με ǭ : με ǭ; cf. Bch's με ǭ (Ellis p. 1072) and Spenser's *-amore* : με ǭ (§ 319).

Other rimes of interest (irrelevant or uncertain cases, see §§ 136, 137, 144):

με ọ̄ : με ǭ (7 cases). *billet-doux* pl. : *rows* s. 74. *food, rood* : *good, wood* s. (4 cases). με ew : *good* (3 cases). *full* : *rule* 53. με ọ̄ : με ū (4 cases). *food* : *blood, flood* (4 cases). *embru'd* : *blood* 168. *fool, school* : *dull, skull* (4 cases). *doom, room, tomb, womb* : *come* (9 cases); *prove, move* : *above, dove, love* (very numerous). — These rimes prove nothing as to Pope's pronunciation of με ọ̄ & με ew. The rimes με ọ̄ : με ū, με ọ̄ : με ǭ are purely traditional; cf. Spenser. The rimes to *good, wood,* and to με ŭ, do not prove a short vowel in *food, rood* (cf. Gill, § 320 above), as *good* and με ŭ are rimed also with με ew, where no shortening is

recorded. — For the rimes to present E. ɐ, cf. further § 336 f., § 341.

322 BYRON. Before *-r* the rimes are as follows:

paramour : *o'er, store; nor* (2 cases); *paramour, tambour* : *hour* (2 cases). *poor* : μɛ o̤r (2 cases). *unmoor* : *shore* 249 a; : *lowering* (μɛ ou) 56 b. *Moor* : μɛ o̤r, *door, pour* (9 cases). *Moore* n. pr. : μɛ o̤r, *pour* (6 cases); : *nor* 648 b; : μɛ ū 637 b. *whore* : μɛ o̤r (3 cases); : *lord* 782 a. — I have not looked for rimes of these words to μɛ o̤, ew (in CH there are none), so I have no direct evidence of μɛ o̤ in any of the words. *whore, unmoor, Moor, Moore* n. pr., may be considered as μɛ o̤r-words in the rimes to present E. ɔɔ here given, cf. § 138, foot-note. — *poor, paramour* : present E. ɔɔ are uncertain. Yet the scarcity of rimes *poor* : μɛ o̤r seems to indicate that Byron pronounced *poor* with μɛ o̤ (= W.); for the possibility of a μɛ o̤r in *paramour*, cf. Spenser and Pope, above. — The two rimes to *hour* are of course purely traditional (and spelling) cases.

Other rimes (irrelevant or uncertain cases, see §§ 137, 145):

μɛ o̤ : μɛ ŏ (2 cases). μɛ o̤ : μɛ o̤, ou (rather numerous; for equivalent cases cf. § 306); + : μɛ ŏ (2 cases). μɛ o̤ & ew : *good* etc. (numerous). μɛ ew : *book, look,* etc. (11 cases). μɛ o̤ & ew : *foot, soot* (14 cases). μɛ o̤ & ew : *John Bull, full, bully* (4 cases). μɛ o̤ : nɛ ū (5 cases). *mood* : *stood* : *god* 241 a. *woman* : *two men* : *common* 617 b. — Besides there is a great number of rimes to μɛ ŭ (+ : other vowels), especially *blood, flood, above, dove, glove, love,* cf. §§ 153(, 201 ff.). — The rimes show nothing as to the quality of Byron's μɛ o̤ and μɛ ew, which are = [ū], [jū] (W. o^2, u^1) in the standard E. of Byron's time. For the Sc. E. pronunciation of the vowels in question cf. § 23; as to *food* etc. cf. also § 24.

323 SWINBURNE. *whored* : *lord* SBS 35 is no doubt intended to be a rime present E. ɔɔ : ɔɔ; probably also *moorland* : *foreland* : *norland* PB II:164. Purely traditional are certainly the rimes *paramour, Triamour* : μɛ ū (6 cases).

Other rimes (for *wound* s. : μɛ ū see § 145):

room : *from* : *tomb* : *womb* SN 72. *abode* : *mood* PB I:289; *move* : *drove* pret. PB I:60; *woven* : *proven* : *cloven* SS 183. *youth* : *growth* TL 17. μɛ o̤ & ew : *good* etc., *foot* (numerous); *woman* : *human* PB I:121. *mouth* : *youth* SSp 18. *lose him* : *bosom* : *blossom* PB I:172. *growth* : *mouth* : *youth* : *south* PB II:92. — Besides there is a great number of rimes to μɛ ŭ (+ : other vowels), cf. §§ 153(, 203, 205, 207).

324 **Present E. u.**

a. could, should, would. Cf. Luick, Anglia 16,471 f.; B. § 193.

SPENSER rimes these words (§ 141) to *-old* (i. e. ɛ ou, cf. § 303); the only exception is *mould* (Rom.) : *should* : *defould* 64 b (= ɛ ou : ɛ ū). Spenser evidently has ɛ ou in *could* as well as in *should, would*; of *could* there is also the variant *couth* : ɛ ū 118 a (see § 144).

POPE has only the rimes *should, would* : *good* 218, 442; *could* : *blood* 128. He evidently has the present E. pronunciation.

BYRON'S and SWINBURNE'S rimes I have not collected. Those incorrect according to present E. pronunciation are given with the rimes to *good* etc., see § 326.

325 **b.** ME ǭ | k (Irrelevant or uncertain cases, see § 141).

Neither in SPENSER'S rimes nor in POPE'S is there any sign of a shortened vowel. Excepting the rimes *-ook* : *-ook*, there are only rimes *-ook* : ɛ ǭ; in Spenser *look, shook, took* : ɛ ǭ (3 cases; not quite certain, cf. § 141); in Pope *look, strook* : ɛ ǭ (5 cases). In Spenser's time the orthoepists generally give ɛ ǭ (according to Horn Gr. § 104 also short vowel in *look* in the 16th c.). Jones gives [ŭ] in many words (his ɛ ŭ in *look, took*, which presupposes an early shortening, can be explained as a provincialism, Ekw. § 329), later also Kenrick in e. g. *book, cook, shook;* yet ɛ ǭ was certainly never quite abandoned in the 18th c., as it is given by W. 1791 in all words with *-ook* (*book, cook, look, shook, took*, etc.). — BYRON rimes *-ook* : ɛ ew (11 cases) and : ɛ ǭ 752 b, in which rimes ɛ ǭ is probably meant in the words with *-ook;* in the other rimes, *book it* : *pocket* 773 a, *look* : ɛ ŭ 762 a, short vowel may be meant in *book, look*. — SWINBURNE'S rimes are in accordance with the present E. pronunciation.

326 **c.** ME ǭ | d & t.

SPENSER. Rimes. *good* etc., *foot* : ɛ ǭ | d & t (numerous). — : *blood, flood* (numerous). + : ɛ ǭ | d (numerous). *good, wood* s. : *bud* s. & v. (2 cases). *good* : *Lud* n. pr., *mud* (+ : *blood, flood*) (2 cases). *wood* s. : *stood* : *bud* v. : *aloud* 407 b.

The rimes containing ɛ ǭ | d & t = present E. uw are probably rimes ɛ ǭ : ɛ ǭ (cf. § 320), long vowel ~ short vowel being given in most of these present E. u -words by the 16th

c. orthoepists and by Gill (for *blood, flood* cf. § 333). The rimes to *Lud, mud* and certainly also those to *bud* (see § 334) are rimes ɯɛ ŭ : ɯɛ ŭ; the rime 407 is probably = ɯɛ ō̤ : ɯɛ ū, cf. § 334.

POPE. Rimes. *good, wood* s. : ɯɛ ō̤|d (4 cases); *good* : ɯɛ ew|d (3 cases). *wood* : *God* (2 cases). *good* : *proud* 328. *good, stood, wood* s. : *blood, flood* (numerous). *blood* : *could* 128. — The rimes are traditional (cf. Spenser, above; besides Dryden : *flock* : *took; grot* : *foot; God* : *stood; God* : *stood* : *mood; loud* : *stood; proud* : *flood; proud* : *good; crowd* : *good;* Dierb. §§ 74, 78) and allow no conclusions as to the rime-vowels meant. The two rimes *wood* : *God* would be best explained by an unrounded ɯɛ ŭ in *wood* (cf. *woman* : *uncommon* § 327, and the rimes ɯɛ ŭ : ɯɛ ŏ § 341), and this pronunciation is assumed by Dierberger for *took, foot, stood* in the rimes of Dryden quoted above. There are no rimes *wood, good,* etc. : ME ŭ to adduce in favour of this pronunciation, but this might be chance, especially as the rimes *blood, flood* : ME ŭ are very scarce (Pope 3 cases; Dryden only one, *blood* : *mud,* to judge from Dierb. § 52). A more serious objection is that the pronunciation in question may very well have been only a S. W. provincialism (cf. *look, took* § 325), and in this case not likely to be found in the language of Dryden and Pope. — Besides, there was only a very small difference between ɯɛ ŭ and the vowel in *full* etc. (identified with the vowel in *good* etc. by Cooper, Ellis p. 101) still at the end of the 17th c.. This appears — disregarding the fact that ɯɛ ŭ is identified with German short *u* still by the »Anonymous instructor of the Palatines» 1710 (Ellis p. 184), a statement no doubt due to inaccurate observation as well as e. g. Greiffenhahn's German *u* (1778) both in *dozen, wonder, work, honey,* etc., and in *wolf, woman,* etc. (Löwisch p. 73) — e. g. from Cooper's statement p. 5: »Et quamvis inter *bull* & *cut* minima videatur, aliqua tamen est differentia» (another passage to the same effect is quoted by Ellis p. 181); cf. further Sweet HES § 798 f.[1] As pointed

[1] Sweet l. c dates the complete separation of present E. ʉ x ɐ as late as the middle of the 18th c. This date seems somewhat late; it may be observed in passing that the quotation from Lediard (adduced in proof by Sweet) to the effect that the *u* in *full* was an obscure sound between German *u* short and ɯɛ ŭ, disagrees with Ellis (p. 1043), according to whom Lediard describes ɯɛ ŭ as »an obscure sound» etc., while the *u* in *full* is identified by him with the German *u* short. — It is quite another matter that the present E. distribution of the ʉ- and ɐ- words to one or the other group was not definitely accomplished until the end of the 18th c. (cf. § 327).

out by Sweet l. c., this statement and others of the same import imply that the vowel in *full* etc. (= in *good* etc.) had to some extent participated in the »unrounding» characteristic of μɛ ŭ, so that the present E. u is the result of a »re-rounding» of the vowel in use — at least as a variant — at the end of the 17th c. Consequently the rimes *good* etc. : μɛ ŏ would be little more objectionable to Dryden, and possibly also to Pope, than the rimes μɛ ŭ : μɛ ŏ (cf. § 341). As to the rimes *good* etc. : *blood, flood*, they may be correct on the basis of a variant of the latter words with the vowel in *good* etc.; cf. § 337. — Correct is, of course, *foot* : *put* 497.

Byron. Rimes (incl. rimes to *could, should, would*).

— : μɛ ō̤ & ew |d & t (numerous). — : *blood, flood* (numerous). + : μɛ ō̤|d (6 cases). *good use* : *produce* 768 b. *mood* : *stood* : *god* 241 a. *foot* : *put* : *but* 692 a. *everybody* : *should I* : *muddy* 825 b. *blood* : *mud* : *good* 714 b. — The rimes are traditional (cf. above, the corresponding cases in Spenser, Dryden, Pope) and are in no way conclusive as to Byron's pronunciation of *good* etc. — Walker's remark p. XI (edition of 1791) that »oo in *food, mood, moon, soon*, etc. . . is generally shortened in Scotland to that middle sound of the *u* in *bull*» (cf. § 24), cannot with certainty be applied to Byron, as there is a great number of rimes of *good* etc. to μɛ ew, for which no such shortening is mentioned.

Swinburne's rimes, *good* etc., *foot* : μɛ ō̤ & ew | d & t (numerous), — : *blood, flood* (numerous), + : μɛ ō̤ & ew |d (4 cases), are purely traditional.

327 **d**. ME ŭ.

Spenser's rimes *full, wolf, put, bush, push* : μɛ ŭ (10 cases) are certainly correct (= μɛ ŭ : μɛ ŭ), as the branching leading to present E. u ⟩ ɐ is not recorded till long after Spenser's time (first by Hodges, to judge from Horn Gr. § 61).

Pope has the rimes *full* : *rule* 53, *woman* : *uncommon* 478, *full* : *dull* (3 cases).

The rimes *full* : *dull, woman* : *uncommon* can be mere loans from older poets (cf. Spenser, above; Dryden, Dierb. § 76: *woman* : *no man; woman* : *common; pull* : *dull; full* : *dull*) and prove nothing. It appears, however, from the orthoepists that *full, pull, woman*, etc. still had variants with μɛ ŭ in the 18th c. (cf. Horn Gr. §§ 61 ff., 66; Dierb. § 76; Löwisch p. 75 f.); so that μɛ ŭ may be the vowel meant in the rimes to *uncommon* and *dull* (cf. for rimes μɛ ŭ : μɛ ŏ § 341).

BYRON. Rimes (Uncertain is *bosom* : *blossom*, cf. § 140). *John Bull, full* : *fool, school* (3 cases). *bully* : *truly* : *newly* 802 a. *pudding, full, pull, wolf, woman, put, bush, push, cushion* : ɹɛ ŭ (27 cases, + *but* : *put* : *foot* 692 a). *put* : *not* : *but* 653 a. *woman* : (*un*)*common* (4 cases). *woman* : ɹɛ ō (3 cases). *woman* : *two men* : *common* 617 b. *woman* : *common* : *no man, Roman, Knowman* (4 cases). *uncommon* : *summon* : *woman* 809 a. *woman* : *summon* : *human* 797 b.

The numerous rimes to ɹɛ ŭ look like traditional rimes. It should be noted, however, that, with three exceptions, they occur only in DJ, while Byron's traditonal rimes as a rule are most numerous in his earlier works. This fact gives the impression that the rimes present E. u : ɐ are not mainly traditional with Byron, but rather due to the inaccuracy in riming which he shows particularly in DJ (and Bp); and it is very possible that these rimes have suggested themselves to Byron by way of the Sc. (E.) pronunciation ɹɛ ŭ in the words with present E. u < ME ŭ, cf. § 27. — Such a Sc. (E.) influence in Byron's pronunciation of ME ŭ would further make the rimesM E ŭ : ɹɛ ŏ (+ : other vowel) more explicable, by approaching them to the numerous rimes ɹɛ ŭ : ɹɛ ŏ (for which see § 342); yet the rimes in question — mostly containing *woman* : (*un*)*common*, cf. Pope's rime between these words — may very well be mere traditional and emergency rimes.

In SWINBURNE I have found only the rime *woman* : *human* PB I:121, which does not require any comment, and the rimes *bosom* : *blossom* (11 cases), for which cf. § 140.

Present E. au, auə. 328

SPENSER. Rimes. Irrelevant or uncertain cases, see §§ 46, 143, 144, 147, 150, 151.

ɹɛ ū : ɹɛ ū|r (3 cases). ɹɛ ū : ɹɛ ō (§ 144, 5 cases; rimes of this kind are probably *wount* a. (= wont) : *recount* : *surmount* 131 a, *wood* s. : *stood* : *bud* v. : *aloud* 407 b; cf. § 334). ɹɛ ū : *-amour, Toure* n. pr. (numerous). *dore* (= door) : *towre* v. (= tour) : *devoure* 588 a. ɹɛ ū (incl. *pour* v., cf. § 293) : *door, floor, ore* (4 cases). ɹɛ ū : ɹɛ ou (§ 147, 5 cases; rimes of this kind are probably *mould* (Rom.) : *should* : *defould* 64 b, cf. § 324, and *showed* : *wowed* (= wooed) : *vowed* 412 a, cf. § 198). Of rimes ɹɛ ū : ɹɛ ŭ (cf. § 151) and ɹɛ ū : ɹɛ ō (cf. § 147) there are no certain cases.

The rimes to ɹɛ ou, especially as there are no certain rimes

to ɱɛ ǭ, may be considered to prove that Spenser knew the diphthongic pronunciation of ɱɛ ū, given by most orthoepists of the 16th c. (cf. Viëtor El. § 49, Anm. 9; Luick, Anglia 14, 283). The rimes to *-amour, Toure* are uncertain (see § 319), but those to ɱɛ ǭ — incl. *door, floor, ore,* see § 292 — and especially those to ɱɛ ṻ, in which traditional influence seems out of the question, certainly show that Spenser knew also the old monophthongic [ū] (possibly »zweigipfelig», Horn Gr. § 106), given by Palsgrave, Bll, and probably by Mulcaster (Viëtor l. c.; Luick l. c.).

329 Pope. Rimes. Irrelevant or uncertain cases, see §§ 144, 147, 150.

proud : *good* 328. *sour* : *poor* 291. *cowl, owl* : *fool* 221, 374. *mouth* : *youth, truth* 473, 484. ɱɛ ū : ɱɛ ou (numerous). ɱɛ ū : ɱɛ ǭ (5 cases). ɱɛ ū : ɱɛ ǭr (viz. *adore, more, o'er*) (4 cases). *out* : *thought* 474.

The rimes to ɱɛ ǭ (incl. *youth, truth*; cf. Dryden's ɱɛ ū : *use, pursue,* 4 cases, Dierb. § 78 f.) are traditional and do not prove that Pope knew the old monophthongic pronunciation of ɱɛ ū. Tradition is also the chief cause of the rimes to ɱɛ ǭ and ɱɛ ǭr (incl. *poor*, cf. § 321) — cf. Dryden, Dierberger § 78 — and of the rimes to ɱɛ ou; the great number of these latter may also to some extent be due to the likeness in spelling. On the other hand it is probable that the phonetic incorrectness of the rimes to ɱɛ ǭ(r) & ɱɛ ou was not quite so considerable in Pope's pronunciation as it is in present E.; because it seems that the first element of the diphthongic ɱɛ ū was in Pope's time (and considerably later, cf. Byron, below) somewhat rounded; cf. the relations of ɱɛ ǭ and ɱɛ ŏ to ɱɛ ŭ which latter is identified with the first element in ɱɛ ū by e. g. Wallis, Cooper, Jones (Ellis p. 156 ff.). These considerations apply also to the rime *out* : *thought.*

330 Byron. Rimes. Irrelevant or uncertain cases, see §§ 145, 148, 150.

paramour, tambour : *hour* (2 cases). ɱɛ ū : ɱɛ ǭ (5 cases). ɱɛ ū : ɱɛ ou (incl. ME ŏl(c) & ōlᶜ, cf. § 303) (§§ 148, 150, numerous; besides *bestower* : *shore* : *power* 367 a, § 150). ɱɛ ū : ɱɛ ǭ (+ ɱɛ ou) (11 cases). ɱɛ ū : *door, floor; adore,* etc. (5 cases, § 150; equivalent is *hour* : *bower* : *Moore* n. pr. 637 b, § 143). *withdrawn* : *down* : *frown* 710 b. *polish* : *owlish* 101 b. *blonde* (F.) & *monde* (F.) : *ground* 809 b. *gone* : *own* : *alone* : *grown* : *down* 103 b. ɱɛ ū : ɱɛ ŭ (6 cases). *none* : *town* : *own* 836 b. *on* : *down* : *undone* 732 b.

It is possible that in the standard pronunciation of Byron's

time the first element of the diphthongated μɛ ū was still a rounded vowel (cf. Kenrick p. VI: »*ow*» is a »commixture» of »the short *o* and long *u*»; W. (1791) p. XVI: »o̊ů» = »The long broad o[3], and the middle obtuse u[3] . . .»); at any rate it was no doubt a »back» vowel (given as such still by Bell, e. g. Sounds p. 63, Pr. of El. p. 32; cf. the Sc. (E.) pronunciation, § 27 above). This pronunciation may have influenced the number of Byron's rimes μɛ ū : μɛ ou and : μɛ ǭ(r) — to which latter are equivalent the rimes μɛ ū : *door, floor, Moore,* and possibly also *paramour* (§ 322) — but the main cause of these rimes is certainly traditional influence and, in the case of the rimes μɛ ū : μɛ ou, probably also influence of the spelling. — The pronunciation of μɛ ou as μɛ ū recorded as a Scotticism by Bell (see § 27, above) would explain Byron's rimes μɛ ū : μɛ ou, if it could be adduced as a general explanation; it is, however, very unlikely that Bell means his rule to include all words with μɛ ou, because the Sc. dialects generally distinguish in pronunciation between etymologically different groups of μɛ ou, (cf. Murray p. 148 f., EDGr. §§ 41, 127, 128, 168),[1] and a less comprehensive rule would hardly explain Byron's rimes μɛ ū : μɛ ou in which different etymological groups of both rime-vowels are joined together. — But of course there remains the possibility that the Sc. (E.) ✗ St. E. difference in the relations of μɛ ū and μɛ ou may have occasionally — perhaps unconsciously to the poet himself — suggested rimes of this kind to Byron. — Another Scotticism given by Bell l. c., viz. the pronunciation of μɛ ū as μɛ ǭ, can hardly be ascribed to Byron, as his rimes μɛ ū : μɛ ǭ are conspicuously few, and practically limited to cases with both tradition and spelling directly in their favour. — But it seems necessary to adduce the Sc. (E.) pronunciation of »*pound, ground,* etc.» (Bell l. c.) with μɛ ŭ to explain Byron's remarkable rimes μɛ ū : μɛ ŭ; especially as these rimes, with only one exception, consist of words with μɛ ū |n[c], even as Bell's examples (cf. also Murray p. 148; EDGr. § 104). Traditional influence is not likely in this case; rimes of this kind certainly occur in early Mod. E. (e. g. Dryden, Dierb. § 78 f.: *house* : *us, Caucasus,* 2 cases; *crown, town*

[1] Sc. dial. [au]- (or [ɐu]-, [ou]-) forms are recorded by EDGr. of [§ 168. OE ōw:] *flow, glow, grow, stow;* [§ 127, OE āw:] *blow* (»Inv.»), *mow* (»ne, & wm. Sc.»), *soul* (many Sc. dialects); [§ 41, OE al + d:] *told* (»wm. Sc.», »Kcb.»); but not of the words *low, owe, own* a. (: OE āg); nor of the bulk of the words with OE āw, (e)al + d, as *know, crow, slow, snow,* etc.; *bold, cold, fold,* etc.

: *son, won*, 3 cases; *one* : *shown* : *town*, 1 case); but only very sparingly. — If this explanation of the rimes ɹɛ ū : ɹɛ ŭ is correct, these cases afford a curiously striking instance of dialectal influence in Byron's rimes.

331 SWINBURNE. Rimes [ɹɛ ū : *wound* s., see § 145]. *Paramour, Triamour* : ɹɛ ū (6 cases). *mouth* : *youth* SSp 18. *growth* : *mouth* : *youth* : *south* PB II:92. ɹɛ ū : ɹɛ ou, ǭ (6 cases). *-ion* : *shone* : *renown* : *upon* PB II:206. ɹɛ ū : ɹɛ ŭ (*brows* : *does* : *calamus* PB I:260; *doth* : *mouth, south* (7 cases).

The rimes are traditional or mere individual licences; besides, the rime PB II:206 and one of the rimes ɹɛ ū : ɹɛ ou (PB II:197) occur in the translations of Villon, cf. § 1. For the rimes to *does, doth*, see further § 343.

332 **Present E. ɐ.**

a. Special groups : present E. ɐ < ME ǭ, ME ō̧, ME ŭ-, ME ŏ & ŭ |ng.

SPENSER.

I. ME ǭ. *one, none, attone* adv. (*once, nonce* occur only in *Champions : attons* 162 a, *attonce : nonce* 349 a).

Rimes. — : ɹɛ ǭ (incl. *anon, gone, shone*, see § 129, *wone* v., see § 47) (numerous; §§ 154, 155, 207). — : ɹɛ ou (+ : ɹɛ ǭ) (§§ 155, 207; 8 cases). *one* : *-ion* : *upon* 98 b. *attone* : *don* inf. : *on* 324 a. (*n*)*one* : *done* inf. & pp. : ɹɛ ǭ (3 cases). — Besides rimes to the ending -(*i*)*on*, cf. § 154. — Spenser evidently pronounced *one* etc, with ɹɛ ǭ. The cases 98 b, 324 a are rimes ɹɛ ǭ : ɹɛ ŏ. For *done*, see below.

333 II. ME ō̧. *blood, flood*; *done* (*does, doth*, no cases); *mother, brother, other*; *glove*.

blood, flood. Rimes. *flud* : *mud* 407 b. *buds* v. : *fluds* : *studs* : *buds* s. 433 a. *flood* : *mud* : *blood* : *good* 302 b. *blood, flood* : *good* etc. (numerous). *blood, flood* : *brood* etc. (numerous); + : *food* (= feud) 232 b. *woo'd* : *blood* 509 a. *blood, flood* : *good* etc. : *brood* etc. (numerous). *flood* : *God* : *abode* 286 b. — Apart from the rime 286 b (cf. the rime 338 b, *done*, below) — which is quite anomalous, as rimes ɹɛ ŭ : ɹɛ ǭ, present E. u : ɹɛ ŏ & ɹɛ ǭ, ɹɛ ō̧ : ɹɛ ŏ do not occur in Spenser — and the spelling *flud* 407 b, 433 a, *blood, flood* are treated by Spenser exactly as *good* etc. The pronunciations to be inferred from the rimes are ɹɛ ŭ

(= [ŭ]) ~ μɛ ǭ, both given by contemporary orthoepists (μɛ ǭ by Smith, Ellis pp. 883, 890).

done. Rimes. 1) pp. *done, donne* regularly : μɛ ŭ, cf. B. § 105; further e. g. 493 b, 514 b, 521 a, 529 b. *doone* : μɛ ŭ 550 b. — *fordonne* : *soone* : *boone* 197 a; *soone* : *donne* : *wonne* pp. 321 a; *done* : *one* : μɛ ǭ 381 b; *won* s. : *-upon* : *done* : *alone* 338 b. — 2) inf. *donne* : μɛ ŭ 63 b, 195 a, 206 b, 410 b; *fordonne* : μɛ ŭ 253 a. *doon* : *soone* 93 a; *done* : (*n*)*one* : μɛ ǭ 158 b, 165 a.

It is obvious from the spelling *-onne* and the numerous rimes to μɛ ŭ, that μɛ ŭ was Spenser's usual pronunciation of the pp. as well as of the inf. *done.* The rimes to μɛ ǭ and μɛ ǭ may be based on an occasional pronunciation μɛ ǭ, given in *done* pp. by Hart (pp? Jespersen § 34), Bullokar (Hauck p. 17, unless short vowel is meant by Bll's *dwnn,* as, according to the rule (Hauck p. 14), the usually long *w* has the corresponding short sound before double cons.), Mason (Brotanek p. XXXIV. Or = μɛ ǭ? The spelling is »dón», cf. Brotanek p. XLI), Gill (»dial. Bor.»); cf. the spelling *doon* given by Cheke (Ellis p. 888). In this case the rimes to μɛ ǭ would be explained as the other rimes μɛ ǭ : μɛ ǭ (cf. § 320); the rime 338 b would be equivalent to 286 b, see above, *flood.* — B. § 105, while pointing to Chaucer's occasional rimes *done* inf. & pp. : μɛ ǭ (ten Br. §§ 31, 197; Cromie p. 169; cf. for such rimes in late ME, Dib. § 119), is of opinion that there existed in Spenser's time an inf. : »dǭn», and possibly also a pp. »dǭn» moulded on the inf. [cf. the 17th c. μɛ ǭ in *do* (Wallis, Cooper; Ellis p. 1006) and μɛ ŏ in *done* (Cotgrave-Howell 1650; Löwisch p. 65)]. — Spenser may, however, have been led by ME rimes to assume »dǭn» as a ME form, even though such a form did not actually exist either in ME or in Spenser's time.

mother, brother, other. Rimes (besides *inter se*). *discover* : *mother* : *other* : *brother* 245 b; *other* : *gather* 514 a; *mother* : *other* : *together* 282 a. — The orthoepists give, besides μɛ ŭ (and Hart's μɛ ǭ, Jespersen § 34), also μɛ ŏ in *mother* (Bll, Hauck p. 25) and *other* (Smith, Gill; Ellis p. 898). — The case 514 a may be a rime μɛ ŏ : μɛ ă; yet, as Spenser has *gether* ~ *gather* (see § 114), the rime is possibly equivalent to 282 a, which is best interpreted as μɛ ŭ : μɛ ĕ; cf. § 339 f.

glove. I have noticed only the irrelevant rime *love* : *glove* 448 b.

III. ME ŭ-. Rimes. *wount* a. : μɛ ū 131 a; *wood* s. : *stood* : *bud* 334 v. : *aloud* 407 b. *buds* s.: *woods* 458 a; *budde* v. : *good* 481 a. *come,*

some, -some : ɛ ọ (incl. *Rome* § 155; cf. § 137) (numerous, §§ 153, 205; equivalent is possibly *wombe* : *come* : *rome* v. : *home* 291 a, cf. § 320, end); *love, above* (,*dove*) : ɛ ọ (incl. *hove* inf., cf. § 44) (§ 153, numerous; a rime to ɛ ọ & ɛ ǫ is probably *lover* : *over* : *recover* : *move her* 321 b, cf. § 205). *groome* : *come* : *somme* s. 323 a. *love,*[1] *above*[2] : *Jove* (3 cases); *loved* : *roved* : *proved* 320 a. *overcommen* pp. : *commen* inf. 338 a. *discover* : *lover* : *endever* : *ever* 329 a. — The rime *discover* : *over* : *hover* : *lover* 411 b is uncertain, cf. §§ 205, 155. — [Rimes ME ŭ- : ɛ ŭ, see below.]

The words with ME ŭ-, rimed to ɛ ū, ɛ ọ, ɛ ǫ — i. e. *come, some, -some; love, above*; to which may be added *bud* s. & v. (Luick U. § 546), *dove* (Luick U. § 552), *wont* (Luick St. p. 5; differently Koeppel p. 58) — probably have ɛ ọ in these rimes (cf. Luick U. § 537; further Hart's ɛ ọ in *above, love,* Jespersen § 34, and the spellings *loov'd* 162 a, *wount* 131 a, 413 a, *woont* 313 b); especially as the rimes to ɛ ọ are very numerous and as there are no certain rimes ɛ ŭ : ɛ ū or : ɛ ǫ. At any rate, traditional influence is probable, especially in the rimes of ME ŭ | m, v (cf. for late ME rimes of this kind, Dib. § 113). — However, Spenser's usual pronunciation of these words was no doubt ɛ ŭ, given almost unanimously by the orthoepists of the time; cf. the rimes to ɛ ŭ : *dum* a. : *overcum* pp. : *mum* : *becum* inf. 267 a; *become* pp. : *somme* s. : *overcomme* inf. 490 a; *bud* s. & v. : ɛ ŭ (433 a, cf. above, *flood,*) 452 a, 505 b, 589 a; *wont* a. : ɛ ŭ 313 b, 413 a, 474 a, 474 b, 484 b. — *love, above, dove* occur (except for the rime *love* : *glove* § 333) in rimes : ɛ ŭ (alone) only in a few rimes *inter se*, as there are no other words with ɛ ŭ | v than those mentioned (and *shove*). — The rimes 338 a, 329 a are rimes ɛ ŭ : ɛ ŏ and ɛ ŭ : ɛ ĕ respectively; *bud* : *good, wood* 458 a, 481 a may be taken as (correct) rimes ɛ ŭ : [ŭ] (= ɛ ŭ).

335 IV. ME ŏ & ŭ | ng. Rimes. *among* (+ *sprong* 146 a) : ME *-ong* < *-ang* (14 cases); *dung* (spelt *dong*), *tongue* (spelt *-o-*) (+ *hong* 36 a, 46 b) : ME *-ong* < *-ang* (8 cases); + : *prolong* 122 a [Pret. & pp. *-ong*, see § 48]. — In *among* Spenser's usual pronunciation is probably ɛ ŏ (I have noticed only one rime to ɛ ŭ, *tongue* : *emong* 474 a) in accordance with Bll (Hauck p. 25) and Gill. But the other rimes given above are not in agreement with the

[1] Bll's curious ɛ ŏ in *love* (Hauck p. 25) may here be disregarded, especially as Spenser has very few certain rimes ɛ ŏ : ɛ ǫ (cf. § 314).

[2] As Spenser has only one rime *above*: ɛ ǫ, it does not seem probable that he knew Hart's ɛ ǫ-variant of *above* (Jespersen § 34).

contemporary orthoepists. Yet, with B. § 91, I regard these rimes as correct rimes ɹɛ ŭ : ɹɛ ŭ, due to the influence on the literary language — evidenced by ɹɛ ŭ in *among, mongrel*, etc. — of a dialectal ME change of *-ong* > *-ung* (no doubt including also the Rom. *prolong*); cf. Horn, E. St. 30, 369 ff. — Horn Gr. § 60 regards Spenser's rimes of this kind as incorrect, as well as Dryden's etc.; but the history of *among* (ɹɛ ŏ in Bll & Gill; ɹɛ ŭ not until Butler 1633) makes it probable that the influence of the dialectal *-ung*-forms was still valid in Spenser's time.

POPE. 336

I. ME ǭ. *one, none* [*once* is only rimed : *dunce* 233, 238, 306, 369, 396, 412].

Rimes. *one* : *run, sun* 45, 296, 299, 322, 442, 501; : (*un*)-*done* 130, 214, 221, 240, 324, 421; : *John, on* 177, 318 [*one* : *Solomon Gormogon* 141, 421]; : ɹɛ ǭ, ou (7 cases). — *none* : *gone* 323; *sun* : *upon* : *none* 57; *none* : ɹɛ ǭ, ou (incl. *shone* 370, cf. § 154) (13 cases).

The absence of rimes *none* : ɹɛ ŭ as against numerous rimes *one* : ɹɛ ŭ, compared to the greater number of *none* : ɹɛ ǭ, ou-rimes than *one* : ɹɛ ǭ, ou-rimes, clearly shows that Pope knew only the pronunciation ɹɛ ǭ in *none* (the pronunciation ɹɛ ŭ is not found until Lediard, Horn Gr. § 96,3). — The rimes *one* : ɹɛ ǭ, ou and : ɹɛ ŏ may be interpreted as traditional rimes ɹɛ ŭ : ɹɛ ǭ, ou and : ɹɛ ŏ (cf. such rimes below § 341); but in these rimes Pope may also have had in view the old ɹɛ ǭ in *one*, still given by Wallis, Cooper (Ellis p. 1012), Ludwig 1717 (Löwisch p. 65), and evidently approved also by Writing Scholar's Companion 1695, which declares »*wun*» to be vulgar (Horn Gr. § 96,1). — Finally, the rimes *one* : ɹɛ ŏ might be correct, as ɹɛ ŏ is given in *one* by some 18th c. orthoepists; cf. Horn Gr. l. c.; Löwisch p. 65 (Ludwig).

II. ME ǭ and ME ŭ-. The vowels of words belonging to these 337
groups are generally given as ɹɛ ŭ by the orthoepists of Pope's time. Yet, in *flood, blood*(*-ily*), Cooper still gives the vowel in *good* etc. (Ellis) — in *flood* ~ ɹɛ ŭ — and this variant, which is certainly due to the 16th c. ɹɛ ǭ, may be meant by Pope in the numerous rimes *blood, flood* : *good* etc. (*could* 128), *food, embru'd* (§§ 152, 153). — A late [ŭ]-vowel < earlier ɹɛ ǭ is theoretically possible also in the other words with ME ǭ and ME ŭ-, and might be adduced to explain the rimes *come, love, above, dove* : ɹɛ ǭ (§ 153); yet, as the vowel of these words is given as ɹɛ ŭ by all ortho-

epists who distinguish the vowel of *full* etc., *good* etc. from ɹɛ ŭ, it is no doubt only = ɹɛ ŭ also in Pope's pronunciation. — A pronunciation of *done* pp. with ɹɛ ǭ (cf. *done, do*, above §§ 137, 333) cannot be inferred from Pope's rimes *done* : ɹɛ ǭ; because there are some certain cases ɹɛ ŭ : ɹɛ ǭ among his rimes.

Cf. the following rimes. *flood* : *mud* 386, 387, 388 [*blood* : *flood*; numerous]. — (*un*)*done* : *begun, nun, sun, won* pp. 101, 130, 139, 202, 227, 233, 414, 474; : *son* 172, 343; : *pun* 313; : *one* (6 cases). — *must* : *dust* 88, 150. — (*be*)*come* : *drum, dumb, hum, sum* 202, 335, 375, 390, 406, 474; : *plum* 341, 441. — *son* : *begun, Hun, run, won* pp. 27, 28, 79, 129, 213, 317, 319, 339, 368, 393, 394, 408, 413, 413; : *pun* 376; : *done* (2 cases).

love, above, dove, shove occur in rimes : ɹɛ ŭ (alone) only in (very numerous) rimes *inter se;* except for the rime *glove* : *love* 75. — *mother, brother, other* are rimed only *inter se*, except for *other* : *pother* 291 (probably = ɹɛ ŭ : ɹɛ ŭ, see § 154) and *motherige* : *brotherige* : *Gotherige* n. pr. 497 (= ɹɛ ŭ : ɹɛ ŭ?).

338 III. In Pope's pronunciation of ME-*ung* and of ME-*ong* < -*ang*, ɹɛ ŭ and ɹɛ ŏ were no doubt divided just as they are in present E.; so that the rimes between these kinds of words are given § 341 (*among* does not occur).

Byron. ME ǭ. The fact that Johnston (1764) and Sheridan (1780) still give ɹɛ ŏ in *one* (= »won»; Horn Gr. § 96,1) does not justify us in ascribing this pronunciation to Byron in his rimes *one* (and *none?*) : ɹɛ ŏ and : ɹɛ ǭ, ou; especially since his rimes *one* (, *none*) : ɹɛ ŏ form only a small part of his numerous rimes present E. ɐ : ɔ.

The other groups, *done* etc. (i. e. present E. ɐ < ME ǭ, ME ŭ-, ME -*ung* and ME -*ong* < -*ang*), certainly have ɹɛ ŭ in Byron's time.

Swinburne has, of course, the present E. pronunciation in the groups of words in question.

339 **b.** Quality of ɹɛ ŭ.

Spenser. Rimes. Irrelevant or uncertain cases, see §§ 47, 151, 153, 154, 160, 161, 332-335.

ɹɛ ŭ : ɹɛ ū (no certain cases). ɹɛ ŭ : *full* etc. (10 cases); : *good* etc. 136 a, 302 b (equivalent are probably *bud* : *good, wood* s. 458 a, 481 a, cf. § 334). ɹɛ ŭ : ɹɛ ǭ (certain cases 321 a, 323 a, 327 a, cf. § 320). ɹɛ ŭ : ɹɛ ŏ (*overcommen* pp. : *commen* inf. 338 a, cf. § 334; equivalent are probably the two rimes ɹɛ ŭr^{c} : present E. ɔɔ, 239 b, 398 a, cf. § 355). ɹɛ ŭ : ɹɛ ǭ (no certain cases); + : ɹɛ ŏ

(possibly *flood* : *God* : *abode* 286 b, *won* s. : *-upon* : *done* : *alone* 338 b, cf. § 333). μɛ ŭ : μɛ ĕ (3 cases, § 159; equivalent are *grovel* : *level* 314 b, cf. § 135, probably also *florish* : *guarish* : μɛ ĕ 244 b, cf. § 211, and the two cases μɛ ĕr^{c} : μɛ ŭr^{c} (?) 409 a, 511 b, cf. § 355. The rime *other* : *gather* 514 a is uncertain, cf. § 333).

The rimes μɛ ŭ : *full, good*, etc. are correct, cf. § 326 f. The other rimes are too few to allow of any certain conclusions as to the precise quality of μɛ ŭ. The rimes to μɛ ĕ are, however, remarkable. It is true that they bear the stamp of emergency rimes, and that they are all, except the two cases |r^{c}, feminine rimes (in which the difference of the rime-vowels is somewhat compensated by the likeness of the following weak-stressed syllables); yet these rimes and the scarcity of rimes μɛ ŭ : μɛ ŏ (later far more common, cf. Pope, § 341, and further Dryden, Dierb. §§ 74 f., 76 f.) may very well imply that Spenser's μɛ ŭ was more closely related in quality to μɛ ĕ than to μɛ ŏ, which latter, on the other hand, is often rimed with μɛ ă (cf. § 314), but not with μɛ ĕ. Again, this may be a sign of the beginning of the »unrounding without change of tongue-position» which Sweet HES § 798 concludes from the orthoepists to have been the first early Mod. change of ME ŭ; a change including, in its first stages, also the vowel in *full, good*, etc., cf. § 326 (Pope).

In this connection it may be mentioned that μɛ ŭ (< ME ǭ 340
and < ME ŭ) occasionally appears as *-e-* in 15th-16th c. works. Neumann, Paston Letters § 81 f., records *ether wyse* (= otherwise); *welbelevyd* (= -loved); *Debylyn* (»ae. u» = Dublin?); *stedyously* (= studiously); Dibelius §§ 118, 123 (from Paston Letters) *ether* (= other); *sendry* (= sundry). — At first sight these forms might be considered to prove a change of μɛ ŭ (= Dibelius l. c.), but they are certainly to be explained otherwise. Apart from the possibility that one or the other case may be a mere error in writing, analogical influence may be the cause of *ether* (: cf. ether ~ o(w)ther < æġþer, āgþer, Neumann § 94), *-beleved* (: cf. ME lēf < lēof), *stedyously* (: cf. steady, Palsgrave »stedye»); and *sendry* may be a regular dialect form with *-e-* < OE y (OE syndrig; ME *-u-*, *-o-*, *-i-*, according to CD). — It is highly improbable that Spenser, in his rimes to μɛ ĕ given above, had in view these anomalous and certainly very rare forms of *other, love*.

Pope. Rimes. Irrelevant or uncertain cases, treated above, 341
see §§ 154, 336, 337.

dull, skull : *fool, school* (4 cases); *come* : μɛ ǭ (9 cases); *love*,

above, dove : ɱɛ ọ̄ (numerous). *flood* : *nod* 412; *run, sun* : (*up*)*on* (4 cases); *tongue, young* : ɱɛ ŏ (7 cases). *sun* : *upon* : *none* 57. (-)*come* : *home* (5 cases); *done, son, begun, run, sun, won* : ɱɛ ọ̄, ou (9 cases) [besides weak-stressed *-son* : ɱɛ ou (2 cases)]; *love, above* : ɱɛ ọ̄ (24 cases). — For the rimes *dull* : *full* (3 cases) cf. § 327; for the rimes *blood, flood* : *good* etc., *could*, (numerous) cf. § 337.

Pope's rimes (as also Dryden's, cf. Dierb. §§ 63 f., 74 ff.), compared with Spenser's (§ 339), show a marked increase of rimes ɱɛ ŭ : ɱɛ ŏ and : ɱɛ ọ̄, which fact is, of course, a sign of the growing »obscuration» of ɱɛ ŭ, evidenced by orthoepists from the end of the 16th c. down. It cannot however be decided from these rimes how far, i. e. exactly to what result, this »obscuration» had led in Pope's time, because both his rimes ɱɛ ŭ : ɱɛ ŏ and his rimes ɱɛ ŭ : ɱɛ ọ̄ may be — and are certainly to a great extent — purely traditional (cf. Dryden). — Tradition is certainly also the main cause of the rimes to ɱɛ ọ̄; cf. the corresponding rimes in Spenser (§ 333 ff.) and Dryden (Dierb. § 63 f.); to the rimes to *fool, school* there are no exact parallels in Spenser and Dryden, but Pope may of course have used these rimes on the analogy of other rimes ɱɛ ŭ : ɱɛ ọ̄. — The old, rounded pronunciation of ɱɛ ŭ can hardly be assumed in the case of Pope's rimes to ɱɛ ọ̄ (cf. § 326 : even the vowel in *full, good*, etc. seems to have been less rounded in Pope's time than in present E.). — The very numerous rimes to *move, prove* are somewhat uncertain, because ɱɛ ŭ is given in both words by Price, Jones, and EO (Ellis); but this pronunciation may very well have been only a provincialism (as in *stood* etc., *look, took*, §§ 325, 326); cf. Ekw. § 329.

342 Byron. Rimes. Irrelevant or uncertain cases, treated above, see §§ 154, 155.

ɱɛ ŭ : ɱɛ ū (6 cases); + : ɱɛ ŏ 732 b; ɱɛ ŭ : ɱɛ ū : ɱɛ ọ̄ 836 b. ɱɛ ŭ . ɱɛ ọ̄, ew (numerous); + : *good* etc. (6 cases), *woman* (797 b); ɱɛ ŭ : ɱɛ ọ̄ : ɱɛ ọ̄ (viz. *home, grove, rove, over;* 7 cases); ɱɛ ŭ : ɱɛ ọ̄ : ɱɛ ŏ (viz. *of, nominal*, 2 cases; possibly equivalent is *off* : *aloof* : *enough* 817 b, cf. § 299). ɱɛ ŭ : ɱɛ ọ̄, ou (numerous; equivalent are the rimes ɱɛ ŭ : ME ọ̄|r, 2 cases, cf. § 294); + : ɱɛ ŏ (incl. *shone*, cf. § 130; 10 cases). *dollars* : *colours* : *bawlers* 699 a; *awkward* : *backward* : *stuck hard* (2 cases). ɱɛ ŭ : *bush, bull*, etc. (numerous); : *look, foot* (+ *put*) (2 cases); ɱɛ ŭ : *should, woman, put* : ɱɛ ŏ (3 cases). ɱɛ ŭ : ɱɛ ŏ (numerous; equivalent probably ɱɛ ŭ : *off, cough*, 3 cases; + : ɱɛ ŏ, 3 cases; cf. § 299). ɱɛ ŭ : ɱɛ ă (4 cases; equivalent ? cf. § 280, *France* : *advance* : *once* 155 b). *upon* : *one* :

man 696 a (equivalent? cf. § 280, *bronze* : *once* : *glance* 618 b). ɹɛ ŭ : ɹɛ ĕ (9 cases). *hurry* : *furry* : *flurry* 767 a.

The rimes to ɹɛ ō, ew, and to ɹɛ ǭ, ou, agree very closely with the usage of the 17th & 18th c.; the rimes to which no parallels are found in Pope are few, especially in the case of the rimes ɹɛ ŭ : ɹɛ ō. So these two groups of rimes may be considered as, on the whole, purely traditional. As to the rimes ɹɛ ŭ : ɹɛ ū, they are rather due to dialectal influence than to tradition (see § 330); the two rimes containing ɹɛ au are no doubt mere individual licences. — The difficulty of deciding between traditional and dialectal influence and individual licence is particularly felt in the case of the rimes ɹɛ ŭ : short vowel(s); as is very natural, because the obscure quality of ɹɛ ŭ made it capable of standing in rimes with different adjacent (short) vowels without offending the ear too seriously. — Traditional influence is possible in the rimes to present E. u; yet there are special grounds (see § 327) for believing that this was not Byron's reason for using these rimes (except of course the eminently traditional group *blood*, *flood* : *good* etc.). — The rimes to ɹɛ ŏ occur in a number that stands in no reasonable proportion to the number of these rimes in older poets — cf. Pope § 341; Dryden, Dierb. § 74 ff. — (except in the case of the rimes ɹɛ ŭ : ɹɛ ŏ|ng, which may be purely traditional). It is true that ɹɛ ŭ had probably been lowered in St. E. in the period between Pope and Byron (cf. Sweet HES § 799), and had thus possibly approached more to ɹɛ ŏ; but the great number of the rimes ɹɛ ŭ : ɹɛ ŏ seems best explained by supposing that Byron used — or was influenced by — the still more open Sc. E. pronunciation of ɹɛ ŭ (see § 27). — Finally, there is W.'s and Bell's evidence of a Sc. E. pronunciation of ɹɛ ŏ = ɹɛ ŭ (see § 26); but it is hard to conceive that this could have been a common Sc. E. peculiarity, as it does not seem to be based on the Sc. dialects (cf. Murray p. 147 f., EDGr. § 82); and thus it is very doubtful whether it was known by Byron. — The rimes ɹɛ ŭ : ɹɛ ă are not incompatible with the Sc. E. open ɹɛ ŭ; because Byron seems to have been influenced in his rimes — though it is hard to decide to what extent, cf. § 266 — by the Sc. E. »back» pronunciation of ɹɛ ă. But the rimes to ɹɛ ĕ— if they are not based upon older usage, which does not seem probable, as I have found such rimes only in Spenser [not in Shakespeare (Viëtor), Dryden (Dierberger), Pope] — certainly point to a more close (i. e. more »front») pronunciation of ɹɛ ŭ (note that Byron has no

rimes μɛ ŏ : μɛ ĕ). It is possible that the rimes are meant to be based upon the St. E. pronunciation of μɛ ŭ, the close quality of which Byron would be apt to overrate, if he himself used the open Sc. E. pronunciation.

343 SWINBURNE. Rimes. [For *hover* : μɛ ǭ. cf. § 155.]

μɛ ŭ : uɛ ū (*bows* : *does* : *calamus* PB I:260; *doth* : μɛ ū, 7 cases). μɛ ŭ : μɛ ǭ, ew (*blood; love, above, dove* : μɛ ǭ; numerous); + : *good* etc. (4 cases); μɛ ŭ : μɛ ǭ : μɛ ŏ (*blood* : *God* : *rod* : *food* SN 62; *love, above, dove, enough* : μɛ ǭ : *of*, 7 cases); *-beloved* : *moved* etc. : *roved* etc. SS 16; *love* etc. : *strove* pret. : *move* : *of* SBS 26. μɛ ŭ : μɛ ǭ, ou (especially *love* etc. : μɛ ǭ; numerous); + : μɛ ŏ (4 cases). *blood, flood* : *good* etc. (numerous). μɛ ŭ : μɛ ŏ (*blood(y)* : μɛ ŏ, 4 cases; other cases numerous, especially *love* etc. : *of*). *hungry* : *angry* AC 93.

Excepting the rimes *blood* : *good* etc., *food* etc. (& *-ude, -ued*), *love* etc. : μɛ ǭ and : μɛ ǭ, and many of the rimes μɛ ŭ : μɛ ŏ, which are typically traditional, Swinburne's rimes seem to be mainly individual licenses. Some of these seem to be due to the wish to improve upon traditional usage in the case of words to which correct rime-words are scarce, but which, on account of their meaning, must be very often used as rimes. This is probably the cause of the rimes *does, doth* : μɛ ū (Byron has none); and certainly of the increase of rimes *love* etc. : *of* (Byron has only *of* : *move* : *love* 238 a), especially as μɛ ŏ and μɛ ŭ are rather similar in quality in the present standard (Southern) E. pronunciation. — Note that the proportion between the rimes *love* etc. : μɛ ǭ and the rimes *love* etc. : μɛ ǭ steadily decreases from Spenser to Swinburne; which is certainly to some extent illustrative of the change in the pronunciation of μɛ ŭ.

344 **Present E. əə.**

a. ME er(c) of Rom. origin.

In words of Teut. origin, ME ĕr(c) regularly > late ME & early Mod. E. [ăr] > present E. aa; while ME ę̆rc (incl. ME ę̆ < ę̄|rc, Grundr. § 97) > early Mod. E. [ĕr] > present E. əə. — Of the words with ME er(c) of Rom. origin (Grundr. §§ 30, c; 53) some follow the regular development > [ăr] > present E. aa, while others have present E. əə. Kluge-Lutz regard this present E. əə as regularly developed out of ME ērc; Koeppel p. 36 ff. accepts only the present E. aa-forms as regular (< ME ĕr(c))

and considers present E. əə as a spelling-pronunciation; and Horn, Gr. § 32 ff., combines both theories, explaining present E. əə in some words (e. g. *herb, hearse, search, term*) as due to ME ĕr^{c}, in others (e. g. *certain, clergy, fervent, serve*) as a spelling-pronunciation. — The ME and early Mod. E. spellings *-ar-* [cf. NED; Koeppel l. c., and references given there; further e. g. Franz § 25] and pronunciations μɛ ăr [Bch (Ellis) still gives μɛ ă (generally ~ μɛ ĕ) in *converse, deserve, discern, perverse, pervert, reserved, revert, servant, verjuice;* the same vowel lengthened in *learning, unlearned*] often found of many of these present E. əə-words, do not confute Kluge-Lutz' theory, because these μɛ ăr-forms might be due to ME variants with ME ĕr > early Mod. E. [ăr] (cf. *heard, learn,* Horn Gr. § 34), kept with μɛ ăr in dialects and now and then encroaching upon the literary language (cf. Lediard's μɛ ă in *earn, earnest, earth, learn,* »etc.», Ellis p. 1044; Bailey's μɛ ă in *earl, learn, pearl, search,* Ellis p. 1049). — But on the other hand, there are only a few words of which ME ē-forms are really ascertained. Such are *perch, pearl,* which have μɛ ę̄-variants in early Mod. E. (Horn Gr. § 83,2), cf. further Gill's μɛ ę̄ in *perch;* besides *herb, hern* (= heron), *hearse, pert* (of all these last there are ME-*ee*-spellings, cf. NED), *term* (Wyclif *-ee-*, cf. Stratmann-Bradley; Gill gives μɛ ę̄ ~ μɛ ĕ); *verse* (»*Veerce, verse,* Versus», Prompt. Parv. 1440; cf. Skeat Et. D.). ME ę̄-forms are further probable of *scarce* v. (< OF seas, saas, etc. = F. sas), given by Bll with μɛ ę̄, Hauck p. 44, by Cooper with the vowel in *bear,* cf. § 231; and of *search,* on account of the spelling *-ea-*, used in *search* from the 16th c. (e. g. Tyndale, Sopp p. 15; Stanyhurst 1582, Bernigau p. 14). Late *-ea*-forms (17th c. etc.) of such words as *concern, clergy, merle* (NED) do not prove much, because at that time the *-ea*-words with earlier μɛ ę̄ had very often had their vowel shortened to μɛ ĕ, so that *-ea-* very often stood for μɛ ĕ as well as for μɛ ę̄ (cf. Gill's μɛ ę̄ ~ μɛ ĕ in *earl, earth, learn, fern*).

Of the present E. dialects, some are useless for the pro- 345
blem in question, because in them words like *earn, earnest, earth* (present St. E. forms < ME ē) as well as words with ME ĕ|r$^{(c)}$ have vowels presupposing ME ĕ > ă-forms. Such a dialect is that of Kendal, Westmoreland (Hirst § 60, Note; § 68), where the common vowel is = present E. aa or the short of that vowel. The cases in point are as follows: *certain, perilous, serve* (short vowel); *heard, learn* (long vowel, = in *farther, tar, hearth*) [*earth* makes an exception; it is transcribed by Hirst with ə (= »mid

mixed wide»), which regularly represents ME ĭ|r (e. g. *bird, birth, first*, Hirst §§ 54, 55). Late loan from the literary language?]. — But in the Southern Scotch dialects (Murray p. 144 ff.) *earl, earth, learn* have *»iə»* (= »High Front Wide with Voice Glide») — this diphthong regularly goes back upon ME ā, yet in these and different other words upon ME ę̄; cf. Murray p. 105, Luick U. § 205 — and the same vowel is given in *search, pearl, hearse, herb, perch, term, pert, verse; assert, exert, insert, insertion, disconcert; terse; desért, sergeant*. On the other hand, *concern, prefer, err, deter, certain, serpent, serve, divert, merle, mercy, nerve* (*yerk, Merlin, stern*) have *»æ»* (= »Low Front Wide»; regulary corresponding to ME ĕ in closed syllables, incl. ME ĕ < OE eo|r(c), e. g. in *far, dark*, etc.); and *clerk, merchant, alert* (and *fern*) have Sc. *»ai»* (= »Mid Front»; regularly corresponding e. g. to ME ai, and to ME ăr < Rom. -ar- & OE -ear-). — Apart from this dialect, [iə]-forms [going back upon ME ę̄, Luick U. § 242; cf. [i̯ə] in *earth, herb*, mentioned by Cooper and Miège (Luick l. c.), and in *earn*, by Lediard (Ellis p. 1044)] are recorded by EDGr. from different dialects (especially Yorkshire) of *earnest, earth, heard, learn* (of the words *earn, fern*, = OE ea, only in the South and, of *fern*, on the Isle of Man; cf. [iə] in *cart* »e. Hrf»; *arm* »Dor.»), and of the Rom. words *herb, pert*. The other Rom. words recorded by EDGr. (*certain, clergy, concern, serpent, servant, service, serve, vermin*) have no such [iə]-forms, and are on the whole treated in the dialects as equivalent to words with ME ăr(c).

346 Thus, many dialects (incl. Murray's) corroborate earlier evidence of ME ē-forms of *perch, pearl, herb, hearse, pert, term, verse, search*. Of Murray's other *»iə»*-words, *assert, exert, insert, insertion, disconcert* do not prove a ME ē, because they are late loanwords in English (NED 16th & 17th c.); this seems to be the case also with *terse* (CD and Skeat Et. D. have no quotations earlier than 16th & 17th c.). Very probably these words have come into Murray's dialect as book-words and been perhaps quite casually drawn into the *»iə»*-group. — *desért* and *sergeant* are more difficult to judge of; but as long as there is nothing else to indicate a ME ē in these words, their pronunciation in Murray's dialects is certainly best explained as due to some analogical influence. — On the other hand, the dialect forms recorded by EDGr. unanimously point to [ĕ] as the only ME basis of *certain, clergy, concern, serpent, servant, service, serve;* and the same ME basis is to be supposed for the present E. əə-forms of all Murray's words with *»æ»* and *»ai»* (see § 345) and also of equivalent words

like *fervent, ermine*, etc. — as long as there is no evidence of ME ē-forms.

The present E. əə in all these ME (and early Mod. E.) [ĕ]- 347
words is satisfactorily explained as due to classical influence;[1] an influence whose power is clearly manifested by pronunciations such as ɹɛ ĕ in *merchandise* (Bll), *perfect* (Bll, Gill), ɹɛ ĭ in *virtue* (Gill); and by spellings such as *firm* (16th c.: NED; cf. the pronunciations with ɹɛ ĭ in *confirm* Bll, and *affirm* Gill). — In the English pronunciation of Latin in the 16th c. *-ĕr-* was = ɹɛ ĕr — cf. Bll's *Gilbertus, acervum, gerunt*, Hauck p. 49 — and it is clear that this should be the pronunciation of the Latin words (*assert, exert, converge*, etc.) which entered the English language about that time. As to the words which are found already in ME, the restrictive influence of Latin pronunciation (and spelling) may have been at work from the beginning of the change [ĕr] > [ăr] (i. e. from the middle of the 14th c., cf. Dib. § 73). Yet, a Latin influence of any considerable importance is probable only from the 16th c., when the Renaissance began to be felt in England. — In the first half of the 16th c. the change [ĕr] > [ăr] was probably not yet completed even in Teut. words, inasmuch as old [ĕ]-forms still existed beside the new [ă]-forms — Cheke still gives the phonetic (?) spellings »*derk*«, »*ferying*« (= farthing), »*sterr*« (= star) (Ellis); while, on the other hand, Bll has only ɹɛ ă˙ < Teut. ME ĕr, as also Gill, except for ɹɛ ę̆ in *yard* and ɹɛ ă ~ ɹɛ ĕ in *swerve* — and no doubt there was at that time a corresponding duality of pronunciation also in words with ME er(c) of Rom. origin. If this was so, the establishment of the Latin [ĕ]-pronunciation in such words at that time would imply, not the substitution of one pronunciation for another, but only the selection of the one of two current pronunciations which agreed with the pronunciation (and spelling) of corresponding Latin forms. — Now it appears from the statements of Bll and Gill that in their pronunciation — as probably in that of learned people in general at their time — this (Latin) [ĕ]-pronunciation (leading to present E. əə) was established to about the same extent as is the case in present E. The pronunciations of words with ME ei(c) of Rom. origin recorded by these two orthoepists are as follows:

[1] This influence will also, of course, have been active in the case of ME ĕ-forms of words as *herb, term, verse*, which differed little from the corresponding Lat. words. In such cases, consequently, both ME ĕ and ME ē would give present E. əə.

Bullokar (according to Hauck). ɱɛ ĕ : *uncertain, serving, person, conferring, discern, universal, superfluons; virtue; herb, term; merchandise, perfect* [*Gilbertus, acervum, gerunt*]; besides in *verlatz* (= varlets); ɱɛ ę̄ : *hern* (= *heron*); *searce* v. (= F. sasser) [ɱɛ ĭ : *confirm*]; ɱɛ ă : no cases. — Gill (according to Jiriczek). ɱɛ ĕ : *aver* (written »avér»), *certain, concern, defer* (written »defér»), *desért* (~ ɱɛ ă), *deserve, determined, err, expert, interpret* (*-er-* stressed?), *mercy, merciful, Mercury, personal, perversely, preserve, Proserpina, sergeant, servant, serve, service, search, verse, term* (~ ɱɛ ę̄); *perfect;* besides in *varnish;* ɱɛ ę̄ : *perch; term* (~ ɱɛ ĕ); ɱɛ · ă *desért* (2 times, in rimes : ɱɛ ăr; generally ɱɛ ĕ), *garland, margent* (= margin, cf. NED), *marvel; merchantable, merchants;* ɱɛ ĭ : [*affirm,*] *virtue.*

Thus, the pronunciation of *aver, concern,* etc., etc., is not exactly — at least not originally — a spelling-pronunciation, but rather a learned pronunciation. It has probably been the ruling pronunciation among cultivated people ever since the end of the 16th c.; and the occasional ɱɛ ăr-forms given by 17th and 18th c. orthoepists (cf. for the 17th c., Ellis p. 1001 ff.; Bch's pronunciation see above § 344; for foreign grammarians, cf. Löwisch p. 76 f.) are not likely to have been fully accepted in the (standard) literary language of that time.

In the words with present E. aa < ME ɐɪ(c) of Rom. origin, the absence of the Latin influence is generally easily accounted for. *garland, harbinger, tarnish, varnish* have no parallels in Latin; *marvel, parsley, partridge* differ too much from the corresponding Latin words; *garner* has *-a-* in Latin (*granarium*); *farm, parson* are doublets with specialized significations.

348 Spenser's rimes *-e(a)r*(c) : ɱɛ ăr(c) (= present E. əə : aa) present no difficulties (cf. § 169, 213, 214).

Pope's rimes present E. əə : aa are limited to *preferred* (1 case), *desert, pert* (6 cases), *ob-, reserve* (3 cases) : ɱɛ ăr(c), which may all be purely traditional and do not prove that Pope had in view the pronunciation ɱɛ ăr(c) in *preferred* etc. (note besides that 6 out of the 10 cases are rimes *-ert* : *heart*, where the resemblance in orthography may also have been of influence). — As Pope does not seem to have known — or used in his pronunciation — the »obscuration» of the vowel in ɱɛ ĕr(c) leading to present E. əə (cf. § 356), these rimes would be = ɱɛ ĕ : ɱɛ ă in his pronunciation (ɱɛ ăr = [ăr], cf. § 283), i. e. equivalent to rimes present E. e : æ. Now there are hardly any cases of this latter kind in Pope (cf. §

114); but this fact may very well be due exclusively to the all but total absence of such rimes in older poets (while rimes present E. əə < ME ĕr(c) & ērc : με ăr(c) are very numerous in the 16th & 17th centuries).

Byron also makes a remarkably moderate use of rimes present E. əə < ME ĕr(c) & ērc : present E. aa; which tallies with the fact that from the end of the 18th c. the pronunciation με ăr in words like *servant, service*, etc. has been »looked upon as a mark of the lowest vulgarity« (W., Principles 100). — With only 6 exceptions (cf. §§ 169, 213), which are, no doubt, purely traditional rimes με ĕrc : με (w)ărc, Byron rimes present E. əə (in the rimes ME ĕr(c) : με (w)ăr(c)), only with *hearth*, which rimes may be, partly at least, explained by resemblance in orthography and lack of correct rime-words (: Walker, Rhyming Dict. has only the unusual *garth* s. = dam, garden). A pronunciation of *hearth* with με ĕr in the standard language af Byron's time is not probable — I have found no evidence of this pronunciation later than Jones (Ekw. § 171) and Ludwig 1705 (Löwisch p. 76) — but Byron probably knew a similar pronunciation from his native dialect (EDGr.: [ĕ] in »ne. Sc.«), which may have influenced his rimes.

b. με ĭr, με ĕr, με ŭr. 349

I. Lengthening influence of r(c).

There seems to be no sign in the early Mod. E. orthoepists of a lengthening | r(c) in the case of με ĭr(c) με er(c), με ŭr(c) (cf. με ăr(c) and με ŏr(c) §§ 282 ff., 287, 296). The first to expressly recognize this lengthening (as well as the non-articulation of *r* in words as *farther, burn*, etc., which is mentioned, as a London peculiarity, by Walker, Princ. 419, though only in the case of με ărc) seems to have been Guest, in his »English Rhythms« 1838 (cf. Storm p. 373).[1] Yet such a lengthening may of course have existed long before Guest's time, though it may not have been marked enough to be considered by the orthoepists. — The rimes of Spenser etc. afford

[1] A lengthening may be implied by the transcription »öhr« in *earth, heard, search* ( )(»örr« in *earl, early, dirt, girl*, etc.) in Arnold's Vocabulary 1757 (Löwisch p. 77). But as Arnold's book is only a compilation from other works (the author had not been in England himself, cf. Löwisch p. 20 & note), it seems possible that his »öhr« is only a compromise between an r- modified short vowel (»ö«) and the [ē] used at that time as an alternative pronunciation of *earn* and »many others«, cf. § 231.

no certain proofs of a lengthening of this kind; cf. however for Spenser § 355.

350 II. »Obscuring» influence of r(c).

A. μɛ ĭr.

ME ĭr, as evidenced by the usual spelling *-ir-* in Mod. E. [ME ĭr occurs also in *her*, cf. Sweet HES § 653] appears in different phonetic forms in early Mod. E. 1) 16th c. orthoepists, and also Gill and Butler, give μɛ ĭ (+ r) as the general sound. But Bll has μɛ ĕ in *whirl*; Gill has μɛ ĕ (~ μɛ ĭ) in *mirth*, μɛ ŭ in *dirt* and (~ μɛ ĭ) in *bird*; Coote 1596 mentions, as vulgar, the forms »durt», »gurt», [»hur»,] »sur» = *dirt, girth,* [*her,*] *sir* respectively (Horn, Anglia 28, 482); and Butler mentions, as occasional pronunciations, μɛ ŭr in *bird, first, third* (Horn Gr. § 27). 2) Mason transcribes »guerdel», »ferst», »Ser» (besides »thursti», »cheurt» (= shirt) which Brotanek p. XXVI considers to stand for *ü* < ME y); Alphabet Anglois 1625 expressly states that *i* | r(c) is pronounced = *e* (»comme *bird berd : third therd : first ferst*», Anglia 28, 483); Miège describes the *i* in *ir* »à peu prês comme un *e* ouvert», except in *sirrah, shirt, bird,* in which it has the sound of μɛ ŏ (Bohnhardt, Phon. Stud. II p. 76). 3) Hodges 1644 gives *ir* = *ur* (according to Horn, Gr. l. c; yet 1643 he gives *fir, fur* as only alike in sound, Ellis p. 1022); and the statements of Price and Cooper are to about the same effect (Ekw. § 243 ff.). 4) Jones gives two pronunciations : μɛ ĕ (or a similar vowel) and μɛ ŭ (besides the old μɛ ĭ, see Ekw. l. c.). At least in some cases Jones gives both pronunciations in the same words; while many 18th c. orthoepists (incl. Walker) divide the *ir*-words between the two pronunciations, though they do not agree in their divisions (cf. Ekw. l. c.).[1]

The statements quoted from Alphabet Anglois and from Hodges, and further the fact that from the middle of the 17th c.

[1] It may be mentioned in passing that Walker, in the transcriptions given in his Dictionary, does not strictly follow his own generel rules Princ. 108 (concerning the letter *i*): »When this letter is succeeded by *r*, and another consonant not in a final syllable, it has exactly the sound of *e* in *vermin, vernal,* etc.---- but when it comes before *r*, followed by another consonant in a final syllable, it acquires the sound of *u* exactly.---- *Mirth, birth,* and *firm,* are the only exceptions to this rule; where *i* is pronounced like *e,* and as if the words were written, *merth, berth,* and *ferm.*» In later editions, e. g. W. 1872, the list of »exceptions» is enlarged by the addition of the words *gird, girt, skirt, girl, whirl* (which are transcribed with e[2] in W. 1791 as well as in W. 1872); but this new list is evidently not complete either, as e. g. *chirp, extirp, stirp* have e[2] in W. 1791 (& 1872).

the pronunciation [ĭr] of μ.ε ĭr is only rarely mentioned by the orthoepists, certainly imply an »obscuring» r-modification of the vowel in μ.ε ĭr. But it seems impossible to decide how far the different pronunciations of μ.ε ĭr given by different authorities represent different results (in different dialects?) of this r-modification, and how far they are due to earlier [ĕr]- and [ŭr]-forms, cf. below.

As to the 16th and early 17th c. [ĕr]- and [ŭr]-transcriptions of 351
special words (incl. Mason's transcriptions, cf. below), it seems very probable that they not do represent μ.ε ĭr, which is regularly given as [ĭr] at that time, but are based on ME [ĕr]- and [ŭr]-variants of the words in question. This is no doubt the case with Gill's »merth», Butler's »furst», and probably with Mason's »thursti», »cheurt» (= Brotanek), »guerdel», »ferst», which correspond to ME dialect variants [ŭ], [ĕ], [ĭ] < OE y. This ME variation has not been so quickly levelled in early Mod. E. as might be concluded from the statements of the 16th c. orthoepists. Conclusive in this respect are e. g. Heywood's *furst, stur* (rimed : μ.ε ŭ) and even *stoorth* (= stirs, rimed : *foorth, woorth*) in »The Spider and the Flie» (printed 1556; Unna p. 18), Spenser's spellings *-e-, -u-* (and rimes : μ.ε ĕr, μ.ε ŭr) cf. § 82, Shakespeare's spelling *stur(re)* (Viëtor Sh. § 17), Stanyhurst's phonetic (?) spelling *stur* (Bernigau p. 22), Levins' *unsterred* »immotus», *cherne* »fidelia», Weisker § 29. — But ME variants are probably also at the bottom of Bll's *wherl*, of Mason's »Ser», and of the early *-u*-forms *durt, gurt, burd, thurd, sur*, [*hur*] given by Coote, Gill, and Butler. *whirl* is found with *-e-* in ME in *wherlbone* (Stratmann-Bradley); cf. Levins' *wherle* »spondilus», Weisker l. c., and the form *whurld*, quoted in CD from Sylvester, 1563-1618. *dirt* : NED 5-7 *-u-*. *bird* : spelt *-u-*, and rimed : μ.ε ŭ, in Heywood, Unna l. c.. *third* : Heywood, Unna l. c., has the rimes *thurd* : *sturd* : *wurd* (1 case), *thoord* : *swoord* : *boord* (1 case); phonetic(?) spellings *-i-, -e-, -u-*, by Stanyhurst, Bernigau l. c.. *sir* : spelt *sur* already in Ancren Riwle, Behrens p. 102; *sur, ser(e)*, in Paston Letters, Neumann §§ 80, 250; spelt *-u-*, and rimed : μ.ε ŭ, in Heywood, Unna l. c.. [*her* : ME i, y, e; *hure* in Paston Letters, Neumann § 250.] *girth* (NED 4-5 e, 5-6 y, 6 u, 4- i; Levins *gerth* »cingulum», Weisker l. c.) may have its *-i-, -u-* variants from ME *gird* (*girden, girdel*), cf. Björkman p. 152.

Neumann § 266, and Horn, Anglia 28, 483, suggest a late ME r- 352
modification of [ĭ]|r > [ŭr]. Such a change would account for the 15th & 16th c. *-u*-forms; but there are *-e*-forms as well, cf. above;

besides e. g. in *bird* (NED : 14th c.), *dirge* (NED : 14th & 15th c.), etc. The variation *-i- ~ -e-* in this group of words might be considered on a level with the general relations between [ĭ] and [ĕ] in certain positions (Morsbach §§ 109, 114) or due to a ME change [ĭ] > [ĕ] | r, actually supposed by Morsbach (§ 129, Anm. 1) to be the cause of Northern and Midland forms like *ferst, merke* (= OE y). Both these ME changes, [ĭr] > [ŭr] and [ĭr] > [ĕr], could however only be dialectal (and are in fact considered such by Horn and Morsbach); because the usual Mod. E. *-ir*-spelling decidedly points to an unmodified vowel (cf. the spelling *-ar*(-) in *far, star, dark*, etc.).

It may be questioned whether it would not be more plausible to ascribe this late ME and 16th c. variation to analogical influence. The originally locally divided forms, *-i-*, *-e-*, *-u-* (= [ŭ]), of OE y had in late ME to a great extent been mixed together, so that different forms of the same words existed in one and the same dialect. This mixing clearly appears in late ME texts; in Chaucer for instance, words with OE y are found with *-i-*, or *-e-*, or *-u-*, some words even appear in his rimes with more than one pronunciation (cf. ten Br. § 48; Morsb. § 131 & Anm. 1). Now it seems quite possible that this legitimate variation in the numerous words with OE y | r might cause a corresponding variation in many words with OE i, OE e, and ME ŭ (< F.), in the same position, and, exceptionally, after the change of ME ŭ (< F.) > [ŭ], also in words with OE ŭ. Such an analogical influence would explain, besides the numerous *-er-* and *-ur-*forms of (standard) literary language *-ir-*words such as those given above, also forms like *dirk, idurked* (OE deorc), *kirve* (= carve) etc. (Morsb. § 109), *chirk* (OE ea; NED) etc., *sirples* (= surplus; Paston Letters, Neumann § 141); and exceptional forms like *Thirsday* (= Thursday; cf. Horn, Anglia 28, 483). This might possibly also be the explanation of *churl* (OE eo; NED : 2-5 e; 5 ee, i; 3-7 o; 4- u; etc.); Horn's theory (Gr. § 33) that the (standard) literary language *-u-*form is due to »Zusammenfall von *er, ir, ur* unter ə[r]», on account of anr-influence, does not seem probable, as (*-o-* &) *-u-*forms are found very early, and the pronunciation μɛ ŭr
353 already in Bll.

B. μɛ ĕr.

In μɛ ĕr, an r-modification towards present E. əə is evidenced by Wallis (Sweet HES § 793) who gives a vowel little differing from »Gallorum *e* feminino» as an alternative pronunciation of short *e* | r, »ut *vertue* virtus, *liberty* libertas, etc.» (yet distinguished from »*u* obscurum» in *but, curst*, etc.); by Cooper (Sweet

HES § 901) who states that *er* is pronounced = *ur*, »ut *adder* coluber, *prefer* præfero, *slender* tenuis» (the same vowel is given in *err*, Ellis), = *ir* in *bird* etc. (Sweet HES § 904); later e. g. by Lediard, who prescribes (Ellis p. 1042) »an obscure sound almost like German *ö* (œ) or a very short obscure *e* as in *her, vertue*» (also by Lediard distinguished from μɛ ŭ(r)); and by Kenrick, cf. below. The »unmodified» pronunciation of μɛ ĕr was however kept as a variant still in the 18th c.; cf. Jones, Ekw. § 173 f., and some foreign 18th c. grammarians, Löwisch p. 76 f. — The above refers only to words with the spelling *-e-*; of many of these words early Mod. E. [ē]-forms did not exist (this was the case of most Rom. words, cf. § 344), and, where they did exist (in Teut. words and some Rom. words, cf. § 344), they were, as a rule, comparatively early supplanted by [ĕ]-forms. — In the case of the words spelt *-ea-* — in such words the [ē]-variants survived much longer, cf. § 231 — an r- modification of [ē̆]|r towards present E. əə appears far later. Of Ellis' authorities, Kenrick seems to be the first to record it; cf. his remarks to *earn:* »This word like many others beginning with *ea* is pronounced both short» — i. e. with μɛ ĕr, which was identified by Kenrick with μɛ ĭr, μɛ ŭr, and with μɛ ŭ(+ r) — »and long» (i. e. with μɛ ār). But it appears in the transcriptions »örr», »öhr», used in Arnolds' Vocabulary 1757; and as Arnold was only a compiler (cf. § 249, foot-note), it had probably been mentioned in some earlier work than his.

C. μɛ ŭr. 355

There are no direct statements in the early Mod. E. orthoepists of an r-modification in μɛ ŭr; the vowel in *burst, curse*, etc. has been given as equivalent to μɛ ŭ close upon the present E. time. So it seems rather improbable that 15th & 16th c. spellings as *reterned, herte* (= hurt) (Dib. § 118) and the common form *werd* (Dib. § 112) should imply an obscuring by *r* of ME ŭ (or Me ŏ). In fact, there is no necessity for considering these *-e-*forms to represent μɛ ŭr. For *word* cf. § 82; *hurt* has a ME variant with *-i-* (NED); and *-terne* may be due to influence of ME *terne, turne* < OE trȳnan cf. Morsb. § 129, Anm. 2 (p. 167).

III. Rimes of interest (for the rimes to μɛ (w)ăr(c), see §§ 169, 213, 214, 348). 354

Spenser. Irrelevant or uncertain cases, see §§ 29, 49, 82, 161, 162, 163, 164, 169, 170, 172, 215.

μɛ ĭr : μɛ ĕr : μɛ ŭr. No certain cases (cf. § 82). — *learn*:

turn, mourn 409 a; *earth : worth, forth* 511 b. — *burds* (= birds) : *words : Lords* 239 b; *support : durt* (= dirt) : *hurt* 398 a. — *heard* pret. : *afeard : inferd : appeard* 399 b.

Spenser's rimes do not show an r-modification (towards present E. əə) of ɹɛ ĭr, ɹɛ ĕr, ɹɛ ŭr. — The rime 399 b is no doubt equivalent to the rimes ɹɛ ĕ : ɹɛ ę̆ (as a general shortening of the vowel in inflected forms, before two consonants, is not probable, cf. § 282). The rest are probably rimes ɹɛ ŭr (cf. for *forth, mourn*, § 164; for *bird, dirt*, §§ 82, 350 ff.) : ɹɛ ĕr (cf. e. g. Gill's ɹɛ ĕ ~ ɹɛ ę̆ in *earth, learn*), and : ɹɛ ŏ꞉ᶜ (*support* can have ɹɛ ŏ, cf. Gill's ɹɛ ŏ in *reported*); which may be considered on a level with the rimes ɹɛ ŭ : ɹɛ ĕ and : ɹɛ ŏ (cf. § 339). As there is only one rime ɹɛ ŭ : ɹɛ ŏ (§ 154), the rimes 239 b, 398 a would, perhaps, seem better explained as ɹɛ ō꞉ᶜ : ɹɛ ŭr with lengthened *u*-vowel | r(c) (i. e. in some degree equivalent to the numerous rimes ɹɛ ǭ : ɹɛ ǭ, cf. §§ 304, 320); yet there is no authority for an early lengthening of the vowel in ɹɛ ŭr (cf. § 349). — It may be mentioned for comparison that Shakespeare's rimes ɹɛ ĭr : ɹɛ ĕr : ɹɛ ŭr are similar to Spenser's (cf. Viëtor Sh. §§ 16, 17); except for the rime *birds : herds* VA 455. As there are, however, in Shakespeare at least two certain rimes ɹɛ ĭ : ɹɛ ĕ (*imprinted : contented* VA 511, *commission : impression* VA 568 : Viëtor l. c.), *birds : herds* may be taken as another rime of the same kind, and does not prove an r-modification in ɹɛ ĭr.

356 Pope. Irrelevant or uncertain cases, see §§ 83, 167, 173.

birth (numerous), *mirth* (1 case) : *earth* (§ 83); *bird, third, whirl, first, thirst, dirt, birth* : ɹɛ ŭr (numerous); *learn : turn* 52; *earth : worth* 301. — *earth : birth : forth* 181; ɹɛ ŭr : ɹɛ ŏrᶜ (= present E. ɔɔ) (numerous). — *aver, refer : hear, here* 193, 479 (cf. weak-stressed-*er* : ɹɛ ēr, 4 cases, § 173).

The rimes do not prove an r-modification in ɹɛ ŭr. The rimes ɹɛ ŭr : ɹɛ ŏrᶜ should be looked upon as equivalent to the rimes ɹɛ ŭ : ɹɛ ǫ̆ (cf. § 341); possibly with the difference of a lengthening of the short vowels before rᶜ, cf. §§ 296, 349. — The rimes ɹɛ ĭr : ɹɛ ŭr may be considered to show a change of ɹɛ ĭr towards present E. əə; probably also the rime *earth : birth : forth* 181, and the rimes *birth, mirth : earth*. But these last rimes do not allow the conclusion that Pope knew an (alternative) pronunciation with [ĕ] (or a similar vowel) in these words before others (cf. Gill's »merth» and Spenser's spellings »berth», merth», which probably represent an [ĕ]-pronunciation in these special words, see §§ 82, 350 ff.). The

occurrence of just these words in the type of rimes in question is fully explained by these words being very frequently used in poetry, and by the scarcity of rime-words with μɛ-ĭrth (& μɛ -ĕrth), and finally by the very frequent use of the very rimes here considered in older poets (cf. Spenser; further Dryden, Dierb. § 42). The absence of other rimes μɛ ĭr : μɛ ĕr is no doubt due to Pope's not knowing — or not approving of — an »obscuration» of the vowel in μɛ ĕr, cf. § 353. The probability of this last assumption is further borne out by the fact that the rimes μɛ ĕr : μɛ ŭr are very few (✗ Byron and Swinburne), which certainly shows that Pope made a decided distinction between these last vowels. — The late [ē]- forms of *earl, early, earn*, etc. mentioned § 231 (and § 353) do not appear in Pope's rimes. [For Spenser cf. § 82.]

Byron. Irrelevant or uncertain cases, see §§ 84, 170, 174. 357

μɛ ĭr : μɛ ĕr : μɛ ŭr (numerous, § 84). — μɛ ĭr, μɛ ĕr (: μɛ ŭr) : present E. ɔɔ (only W. o[1]) (*birth, mirth; berth, dearth, earth; worth : forth, fourth* (15 cases); besides 8 cases (§ 168); and *before all : moral : her all* 631 a). — μɛ ŭr : present E. ɔɔ (W. o[1] & o[3]) (numerous). *form : worm : conform : warm* 213 b. *forms : worms : charms* 719 a. — *her, err, heard, early* : present E. eə (9 cases). — *her, err, (heard,) early; word, curly* : present E. iə (4 cases). *hurry : furry : flurry* 767 a.

The numerous rimes μɛ ĭr : μɛ ĕr : μɛ ŭr point to a complete identification of μɛ ĭr, μɛ ĕr, μɛ ŭr in Byron's pronunciation (= Kenrick; but ✗ Walker, cf. § 350, foot-note; and ✗ Sc. E., cf. § 27); nor can any difference between these vowels be inferred from their rimes to other vowels. The fact that only μɛ ĕr is rimed with present E. eə may be due to the spelling or else to mere chance; at any rate it is outweighed by the occurrence of two rimes μɛ ŭr : present E. iə. — That μɛ ĭr, μɛ ĕr are rimed : W. o[1], but not : W. o[3], is certainly due to mere chance, especially as the 15 rimes to *forth, fourth* do not count, because there are no words with W. o[3]-rth.

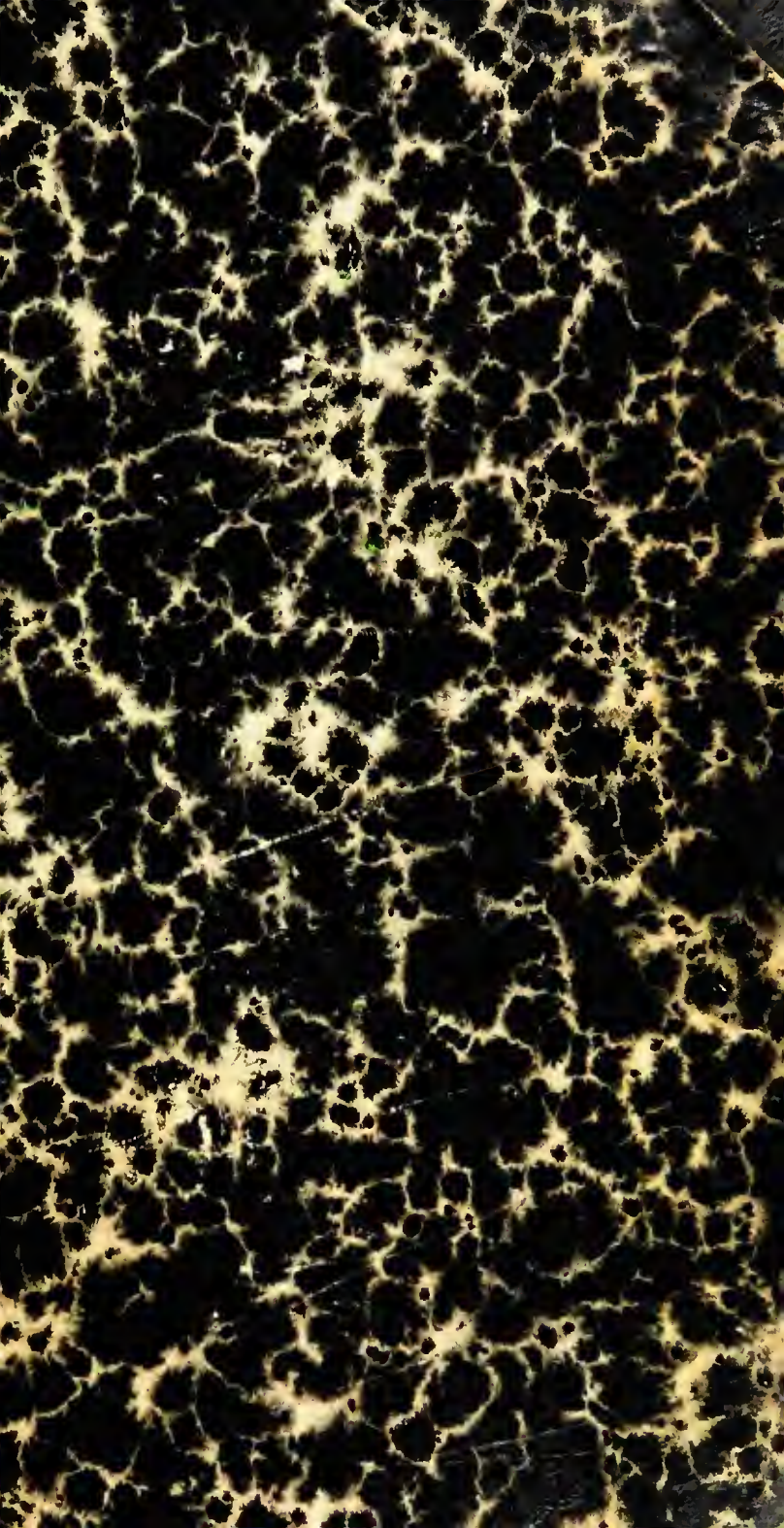
Swinburne. Irrelevant or uncertain cases, see §§ 85, 170, 174. 358

μɛ ĭr : μɛ ĕr : μɛ ŭr (numerous; cf. § 85). — *-ern, -earn* : (*-urn* :) *mourn, bourne* (2 cases); *words* : present E. ɔɔ (2 cases; yet one uncertain, cf. § 168). — *there : her* PB I : 289. — *her, heard, earliest; word* : present E. iə (4 cases).

These rimes show the present (Southern) E. complete identification of μɛ ĭr, μɛ ĕr, μɛ ŭr. The rimes to present E. ɔɔ, eə, iə are traditional.

Addenda et Corrigenda.

[Insignificant misprints are not included.]

p. 11, l. 5 from below, for [ɔə], read: — [ɔɔə].
» 16, l. 17 ff. from above. The parenthesis should read: — (as to the Sc. E. »back» pronunciation .... and μɛ ă. cf. § 25).
» 20, l. 16 from below, for μɛ e, read: — μɛ ĕ.
» 21, l. 8 » » , for *wan* pt., read: — *wan* pret.
» 22, l. 19 from above, for eode, read: — ēode.
» 22, l. 19 » » . Before (*y*)*wroken*, insert: — *stroke* pret.: μɛ ō 123 a, 202 b; cf. B. § 100.
» 22, l. 9 f. from below, for *behott* pret., read: — *behott* pp.
» 22, l. 8 » » , for 72 b, read: — 72 a.
» 22, foot-note 1), for are based, read: — are chiefly based.
» 31, l. 10 from below. After 534 a, insert: — ; *bayt* v.: *awayt* : *strayt* : *bayt* (= abate) 148 a.
» 52, l. 7 from below, for 348 a, read: — 384 a.
» 54, l. 4 from above. The A. at the beginning of the line should be removed to l. 2, after the word SPENSER.
» 56, l. 12 from below, for *yet*; μɛ ĭ, read: — *yet* : μɛ ĭ.
» 62, l. 13 » » , for (cf. § 99), read: — (cf. §§ 97, 99).
» 65, l. 8 from above. After *saïd*, insert: — , *saith*.
» 79, l. 18 » » , for Kennick, read: — Kenrick.
» 91, l. 7 from below, for μɛ ūf, read: — μɛ ŭf.
» 102, l. 4 » » . After *desert* s., a comma should appear instead of a colon.
» 125, l. 13 from below, for [ēᵉ], read: — [ērᵉ].
» 126, l. 4 » » . The[1] after *peer* refers to the foot-note on p. 127.
» 135, l. 6 ff. from above. The passage: »in the first place because ....., and further» should not appear.

p. 142, l. 3 from above. After *heard*, insert a colon.
» 144, l. 2 from below, for με ă$^{(c)}$, read: — με ăs$^{(c)}$.
» 145, l. 11 from above, for με ă$^{(c)}$, read: — με ăs$^{(c)}$.
» 154, l. 11 » » , for με ǭ, read: — με ǭ(r).
» 155, l. 6 from below. A colon should appear before με ŏ.
» 158, bottom line, for ME ā, read: — ME ă.
» 163, l. 13 f. from below, for »ne. Sc.», read »sn. Sc.».
» 167, l. 19 f. from above, for the passage: but they are probably intended to be = [ū] : [ū], read: — but they probably contain an [ū]-form of *floor*.
» 167, l. 2 f. from below, for (§ 150; 12 cases), to which the rimes etc., read: — (§ 150; 12 cases). The rimes etc.
» 168, ll. 1 & 2 from above, for the passage: are probably equivalent (cf. § 292), read: — (cf. § 292), probably also contain this με ū-form of *pour*.
» 169, bottom line, for με oĭ$^{(c)}$, read: — με ŏĭ$^{(c)}$.
» 175, l. 9 from below. The parenthesis: »(and : με ā)» should not appear.
» 180, l. 8 from below. After 617 b, insert: — 820 a.
» 180, l. 2 » » . After 164 b, insert: — 732 a.
» 185, l. 13 » » , for § 24, read: — §§ 24, 326.
» 194, l. 3 from above. The brackets enclosing *dove* should not appear.
» 198, l. 6 from above. After *could*, insert: — *food*, *embru'd*.
» 202, l. 17 from below, for Thus, many dialects (incl. Murray's), read: — Thus, the present dialect forms recorded by EDGr. and by Murray.
» 205, l. 9 from below, for με er (, read: — με ĕr$^{(c)}$.
» 207, l. 7 » » , for ME i, y, e, read: — ME *-i-*, *-e-*, *-y-*, *-u-*.
» 207, l. 7 from below. After *hure*, insert: — e. g.
» 211, l. 5 from above. Add: — These considerations apply also to the rimes *spirit* : *merit*, which were probably — as also the rime *mirrors* : *terrors* 478 — = με ĭr : με ĕ(r) in Pope's pronunciation (cf. § 97).
» 211, l. 12 ff. from below, for the passage: That με ĭr, με ĕr ..... with W. o^{3}|rth, read: — The fact that με ĭr, με ĕr are rimed: W. o^{1}, but not: W. o^{3}, proves nothing, especially as Byron may have identified W. o^{1} & o^{3}|r$^{(c)}$ (cf. § 296).